



*The Death of MARK ANTHONY.*

*Published June 25. 1750 by J. & P. Knapton.*





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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE  
FOUNDATION OF ROME  
TO THE  
BATTLE of ACTIUM:  
THAT IS,  
To the END of the COMMONWEALTH.

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By Mr. CREVIER,  
Professor of RHETORICK in the College of BEAUVAIS,  
Being the CONTINUATION of Mr. ROLLIN's Work.

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Translated from the FRENCH.

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VOL. X.

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THE THIRD EDITION.  
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND COPIED PLATES.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for J. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, HAWES, CLARKE  
and COLLINS, R. HORSFIELD, W. JOHNSTON, W. OWEN,  
T. CASLON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, Z. STUART, ROBINSON  
and ROBERTS, and NEWBERRY and CARNAN.

MDCCLXVIII.

ROMAN HISTORY

TOGETHER WITH

BATTLE OF BOSTON

TO FRIENDS OF THE COM. MOUNTAIN



Printed by J. G. & Co. 10, Strand, London, W.C.

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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY,  
FROM THE  
FOUNDATION of ROME  
TO THE  
BATTLE of ACTIUM.

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BOOK THE FORTY-NINTH.  
Continued.

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BRUTUS

**B**RUTUS not being able to put himself in a condition to pass speedily enough into Italy, to defend it against the Triumviri, prepared himself to receive them. He embraced an opportunity which presented itself, of leading his army into Thrace; to which he was prompted by the double advantage of exercising his troops, by fighting against a warlike nation, and having an opportunity of acquiring to himself the title of Imperator, an honour which was by no means useless to him in his present situation. He entered therefore into Thrace, to put himself in possession of a province where Sadales reigned, who when he was dying bequeathed it to the Romans. Besides, as the Bessi, a very fierce nation, incommoded their neighbours, by incursions and robberies, he proposed to suppress them; and assisted by one of the Kings of Thrace, called Rhescuporis, though at first he suffered a check, yet he terminated afterwards these two enterprizes to his honour.

Besides, Thrace furnished him with money, of which he stood greatly in need. For his character of gentleness, clemency, and generosity, prevented, or at least rendered less successful, many of the means of furnishing his military chest; which being only to be executed by the force of arms, are no less hard and tyrannical in themselves, than war itself. It was therefore extremely fortunate for him, that a princess, named Polemocratia, whose husband, who reigned over part of Thrace, had been assassinated by an opposite faction, came to take refuge in the Roman camp, with her son, who was very young, and all her treasures. Brutus sent the young prince to Cyzica, to be educated in a manner becoming his birth, and converted into money the treasures of Polemocratia. He wanted that this money should be a monument of an action, which he looked upon as the best he had ever done. It bore on one side the image of Brutus, and on the other a cap, the symbol of liberty, between two poniards; and upon the exergue

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.  
Appian.  
Dio.

4  
**ÆMILIUS H. MUNATIUS, Consuls.**

A. R. 710. was stamped the Ides of March, the day on which  
Ant. C. Cæsar was killed. There are some of these pieces  
42. still preserved in the cabinets of the curious.

Plut. Brut. Brutus having caused his army to pass into Asia, took care to equip a powerful fleet in the ports of Bithynia and Cyzica; and while they were employed about this, he travelled over the country, giving orders to princes, and deputies of towns, gaining all their hearts, and establishing over all, with peace and tranquillity, the love of his government. In the meantime he wrote to Cassius, who, after having established his authority over all Syria and Cilicia, and demanded of those towns which resisted him, and particularly that of Tarsus, enormous contributions, was preparing to go into Egypt, to punish Cleopatra for the assistance which she had given to Dolabella. Brutus diverted him from this design, by representing to him, that they had not proposed to acquire a power for their own conveniency; but that it was to deliver their country from tyrants who oppressed it, that they assembled their forces from all quarters. That, therefore, if they intended to be faithful to their plan, and not lose the object in view, they ought not to remove themselves farther from Italy, but, on the contrary, to make haste to supply their fellow-citizens with the succours which they stood in need of.

Cassius yielded to these remonstrances, and began his march to approach towards Brutus. It was at Symrna that they first saw one another again, after their parting at the port of Piræus, the one turning towards Syria, and the other towards Macedonia. The sight of the forces, with which they were attended, caused a reciprocal joy in both, and a surprising confidence. In short, having quitted Italy like unfortunate exiles, without having one single vessel of war, one soldier, or town under their command, after a short interval they met again, well furnished with infantry, cavalry, money, and in a condition of supporting a contest, where the fate of the Roman empire was the subject.

They



**ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consuls.**

They strove which of them should behave with most politeness to the other. Cassius contented himself with an equality; but Brutus yielded to him the honours, and went most frequently to visit him, because Cassius was older, and in a more infirm state of health.

A. R. 719.  
Ant. C.  
42.

They concerted the plan of their operations; and as the Lycians and the Rhodians had obstinately refused to grant them any assistance, they resolved to begin by reducing these two nations, in order that they might leave nothing undone behind them, while they were engaged against the Triumviri. Brutus charged himself with the Lycians, and Cassius with the Rhodians.

Their mutual good understanding continued firm even with regard to the money, which occasions so many disputes amongst mankind. Brutus alledged, that having employed towards the equipment of a fleet, for the defence of the common cause, all the money which he was able to amass, he had a right to demand of Cassius a part of his. But the friends of Cassius maintained, on the other hand, that it was not reasonable that those sums which had been raised by very troublesome means, and managed with economy, should be divided with Brutus, who would gain to himself all the honour of them, by means of all placed and extravagant bounties. But Cassius was more equitable than his friends, and yielded to Brutus the third of his treasure.

They further agreed perfectly well in an act of clemency towards a very unworthy object. Gallius Poplicola, the brother of Messalla, but very different from him, having formed the horrid design of assassinating Brutus, had obtained pardon in consideration of his brother. Some time after he renewed the same attempt against Cassius, and was convicted of it by the testimony of Polla his mother, who being willing to save Cassius, and obtain pardon for her son, thought the best means of succeeding was to discover the criminal herself. Brutus and Cassius were so good as to

Dio.  
l. xlvii.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

pardon him. But bad hearts are not to be worked upon by acts of indulgence and generosity; for Gellius, the very first opportunity, betrayed his chiefs to whom he was so much obliged, and went over to the enemy's camp.

Appian.  
Dio.  
Plut. Brut.

After some stay at Smyrna, the two generals departed for the two expeditions which they had projected. Cassius, to whose lot the carrying on the war against the Rhodians fell, knowing that he had to do with a courageous people, and remarkably strong at sea, he caused both his land and sea forces to be put in motion at the same time. Their rendezvous was at the town of Myndus in Caria.

Cic. ad  
Fam.  
xii. 14.

There was a party at Rhodes which wanted them to submit to Cassius. But the most sensible party is too commonly the most feeble. The body of the people, animated by some rash and factious persons, wanted to make resistance, and did not doubt of success. The glory of their ancestors assured them of it, and they called to mind with pleasure, Demetrius and Mithridates, princes a great deal more powerful than Cassius, who were obliged to retire shamefully from before Rhodes. Since the battle of Pharsalia, the Rhodians had actually turned their backs upon that party which stood up for the liberty of the ancient government in Rome. They shut their gates against Pompey in his flight. After the death of Cæsar, they attached themselves to Dolabella, and refused their assistance to all those who made war against him. Unluckily for the town, they persisted in the same plan when Cassius approached; and instead of promising him full satisfaction, they insultingly proposed to him to wait for the orders of the Senate, which was then sitting at Rome, thereby meaning the orders of the Triumviri.

One may easily judge in what manner Cassius, one of the most passionate of all mankind, received this insulting message. He only answered it with menaces and threatenings, with which the Rhodians were not so much affected as they ought to have been.

They



ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consuls.

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They made but one attempt to soften him, by sending to him Archelaus, their fellow-citizen, who had instructed him in the Greek; for in Rhodes there was a school for all the sciences, and there Cassius had been instructed during his youth. Archelaus acquitted himself of his commission in the most tender and pathetic manner; but Cassius, content to have shown a great deal of friendship to his old master, remained inexorable with regard to the principal point.

A. R. 720.  
Ant. C.  
42.

There was then a necessity of coming to blows, and the Rhodians were rash enough to risk a naval engagement. Dio reports, that they carried their insolence so far, as to display to the eyes of the Romans, the chains which they had prepared for them. But this excess of folly and blindness does not appear probable. It is certain, however, that after they were twice vanquished, they were still so obstinate as to let the Roman troops approach, and allow themselves to be besieged both by sea and land. Nevertheless at that time, those who were desirous of peace took upon them, and began to negotiate with Fannius and Lentulus, who commanded the siege by land. But while they were debating, Cassius, who went on board the fleet himself, and governed the attack on the side of the port, appeared all at once in the middle of the town, with a number of chosen men, without having either made a breach in the walls, or scaled them. The posterns on the side of the sea had been opened to them by some of the most sensible men of Rhodes, who fearing to see their town taken by assault, thought they could not be too speedy in preventing so great a mischief.

An expression of Cassius seemed at first to promise moderation; for when a great many saluted him by the names of master and king, he quite rejected those titles; saying that his greatest glory was to have killed him who dared to make himself master and king in Rome. But the rest of his conduct did not answer to this beginning. He caused a tribunal to be erected in the middle of the Forum, and fixed at the side of

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
44.

it a halberd, as a sign that he proposed to treat Rhodes as a town taken by force. He condemned to death, and caused to be executed in his presence, fifty of the principal authors of the rebellion, and pronounced the sentence of banishment on twenty-five others, who had fled or absconded. It is true, that he assured the rest of the inhabitants of their lives and liberties, having forbid his troops, on pain of death, to exercise any violence against their persons. He further forbid them to pillage, but this was only with a design to plunder it himself; for it was one of the richest cities of all Asia. Accordingly, he took possession of all the treasure, and every thing of value, which belonged to the publick, without sparing either the offerings consecrated in the temples, or even the statues of the gods. And when the Rhodians prayed him to leave them at least one of their divinities, he answered them that he would leave them the Sun. In effect, he neither touched the image nor the chariot of that god, who was particularly honoured at Rhodes. But without doubt he played upon the ambiguity of the word, which might signify that he would only leave them the enjoyment of the light. And by a third sense, which superstitious antiquity has put upon it, they have imagined, seeing he was reduced to kill himself a few months after at Philippi, that by speaking in this manner he had foretold his own death, so nigh at hand.

Val. Max.  
i. 5.

Cassius likewise published an order to oblige every one to bring to him all the gold and money which was in their houses, threatening with death all who should disobey, and promising rewards to such as should discover them. The Rhodians were not much afraid at first, and such as could conceal their treasures thought they ran no great risk. But when they saw, by some examples, that the order was executed rigorously, they found they must obey: and Cassius having taken out of Rhodes, by different ways, eight thousand talents, imposed eight hundred more upon the Forum by way of fine. All the people of Asia, tho' peaceable

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peaceable and submissive, experienced in the same manner the severe usage of Cassius. He demanded that they should pay him immediately ten years tribute; but Octavius and Antony did not allow him time to push this to the extremity.

Brutus, though infinitely more gentle than Cassius, occasioned nevertheless greater mischiefs to those enemies which he had to engage; but it was owing to their own fault, and the effect of their blind fury. The Lycians, animated by one named Naucrates, refused to furnish troops or money, and marched up armed upon some eminences which defended the entrance into their country. Brutus having observed the time when going to their repast, they were less upon their guard, attacked them, killed six hundred of them, and forced the passages. Afterwards, whenever he took any of their towns or villages, he set at liberty those who fell into his hands, being desirous, by this good usage, to gain the hearts of the nation. But the Lycians were fierce and haughty, they were provoked at their losses, and despised the clemency of the vanquisher.

The bravest of them shut themselves up in the city of Xanthus, and Brutus was obliged to besiege them there in form. He soon reduced them to despair of safety but by flight, and a great many saved themselves by the river which ran by the walls, swimming below the water. But the Romans deprived them of this resource, by stretching out nets, on the tops of which were fastened little bells, which gave them notice whenever any of them were entangled.

An attempt which the Xanthians made to burn the machines of the besiegers, and which succeeded at first, was the cause of their loss. For the flame of the machines being driven towards the town by a violent wind, communicated itself to the fortifications and the neighbouring houses; so that in an instant the conflagration became very considerable. The Xanthians had been driven back, and the Romans pursued them; but Brutus, instead of laying hold on this opportunity

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
43.



A.R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
4.

opportunity of carrying the place, was fully employed in preserving it, and ordered the soldiers to endeavour to extinguish the fire. The rage which seized the Xanthians on this occasion is inconceivable. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy for the efforts which he made to save them, they resolved to perish in spite of him. All, both freemen and slaves, women and children, mounted the walls, and threw darts against the Romans, who were striving to assist them. And instead of extinguishing, they augmented the fire, and made it spread more and more towards the city, by throwing into it wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel.

When Brutus saw that the flame increased incessantly, and formed a circle round the town, he was overwhelmed with grief. He rode about the fortifications, trying all the means he could think of to succour them; and stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, he conjured them to have pity on themselves, and allow him to save them, together with their country. But nobody gave ear to him. Furious and desperate, they put themselves to death all manner of ways. And not only the men and women who were grown up, were transported with this blind madness, but the very children with distracted cries leaped into the middle of the flames, or threw themselves headlong from the walls upon the pavement; while others presented their throats to their fathers swords, beseeching them to kill them. In examining the ruins of this unfortunate town, they discovered a woman hanging in a cord, with which she had been strangled, having a young child dead at her breast, and still holding in her hand a lighted torch to set fire to her house. This horrid spectacle made those who were witnesses of it tremble. They mentioned it to Brutus, who would not go to see so melancholy an object; but melting into tears he promised a reward to every soldier who should bring him a Lycian alive; and they say that the number of those whom it was possible

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possible to save from their own rage, amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty. A. R. 719.  
Ant. C. 47.

This is the second time that the town of Xanthus perished in this manner, by the fury of its inhabitants. Herodotus l. 1.

In the time of Cyrus, the Xanthians being attacked by Harpagus, that prince's lieutenant, they chose rather to burn their wives and children, whom they shut up in the citadel, and expose themselves all to death in a general sally, than submit to a conqueror whom all the East obeyed.

It appears that the Lycians were a very fierce nation, for the disaster of the Xanthians, and the humanity of their conqueror, made at first no impression on their neighbours of Patara. They prepared to defend themselves, and Brutus with great reluctance determined to attack them, for fear of renewing the tragic scene. Nevertheless he invested the town, but without battering the walls. Being resolved to try every thing in order to gain them, he detached to them some of the Xanthian prisoners, whose infatuation and madness had blinded their reason. He also sent back to them some ladies of Patara who had been taken at Xanthus, and whose fathers and husbands bore a distinguished rank in the country. And these ladies, by the gentle insinuations, and the praises which they bestowed on the wisdom and generosity of Brutus, at last overcame the obstinacy of the Patarians, and they surrendered at discretion.

Brutus granted to all their lives and liberties, but he took possession of all the money belonging to the publick, and published, with regard to the inhabitants, an order like that of Cassius, threatening with death those who should conceal their riches, and encouraging informers with the promise of rewards. This rigour was too contrary to Brutus's character for him ever to design to go through with it, or indeed to be capable of it, and this appeared on a very remarkable occasion. A slave accused his master of having concealed his treasure, which was indeed very true. They were both brought before Brutus; and  
while



A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
43.

while they went along, the mother of the accused, trembling for her son, followed, crying aloud, that she alone was blameable for the disobedience to the orders of the Proconsul, and that her son had no share in it. The slave believed he should make his court to Brutus, and be sure of the reward, by insisting strongly to prove the mother's falsehood, and fully to convict his master, who during this dispute kept a profound silence. Brutus, as well shocked at the insolence of the informer, as admiring the patience of the son, and the good heart of the mother, treated them all according to their deserts. He sent back the mother and son with the treasure, and caused the slave to be crucified.

The town of Myra having also submitted voluntarily, and Brutus having become master of all Lycia, contented himself with taxing the nation at one hundred and twenty talents; after which he returned towards Ionia, signalizing his march with divers marks of justice, always unbiassed, and always impartial in the distribution of rewards and punishments. But that which he most approved himself, and which gained him the most honour among all the Romans of worth and character, was, the revenge he took upon that wretched orator Theodotus, who had proscribed the head of Pompey. But I have mentioned this elsewhere.

Brutus and Cassius joined again at Sardis, in Lydia, and their armies being re-united, proclaimed each of them solemnly by the title of Imperator, or General-conqueror. At their first interview, like great men who feared no censure, they wanted to have a conversation together, concerning reciprocal complaints which had been made of both. They debated a long while, and it could not otherwise happen, considering the importance and multiplicity of the affairs which they governed, and the great number of friends and commanders who acted under their orders. They shut themselves up therefore together in the first convenient house, and made their slaves guard the door, with

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with express orders not to admit any body in to them. A. R. 719  
Ant. C.  
42.

The debate was very warm. After having laid open their grievances, they entered upon proofs of them, and reproached one another. They burst out into tears, and the tone of their voices became more high and harsh, so that their friends, who were standing without the door, heard the noise, and began to be alarmed, not knowing where all this passion might end. In the mean time, none of them durst venture to go in, on account of the orders given to the contrary. Favonius alone, an impertinent imitator of Cato, whom I have mentioned before more than once, attempted to enter. The slaves at first would not admit him, but it was no easy matter to curb Favonius in a thing he was resolved upon. He valued himself upon a cynical boldness, which knew no restraint; and his sallies, though impertinent, were sometimes well received, because they made people laugh. He then forced the passage, and with a theatrical tone of voice, addressed Brutus and Cassius in these words, which Homer puts into the mouth of Nestor, exhorting to peace Agamemnon and Achilles: "Yield \* to my advice; you are both younger than "I." Cassius, who was naturally lively, could not forbear laughing; but Brutus, who was more serious, was angry, and drove away Favonius, calling him an impudent Cynic. This adventure, however, put an end to the debate between Brutus and Cassius, and they parted on good terms.

Cassius that night made a great entertainment, and Brutus invited his friends to it. After they were sat down to table, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus's passion was not yet over; he declared before all the company, that Favonius came without being invited, and desired he should be put down to the lowest couch. But the cynical Senator came and placed himself forcibly in the middle of the most ho-

\* Ἄλλὰ τίθισθ' ἄμφο δὲ παύσω ἐξὸς ἑμῶν. Il. l. I. v. 259.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

nourable couch. The entertainment was accompanied with a great deal of gaiety; the freedom and cheerfulness of the conversation seasoned the repast, without interrupting the philosophical reflections, to which the Romans of distinction had a particular turn.

Next morning Brutus mortified Cassius by a condemnation he pronounced against a man of rank, who had been Prætor at Rome, and afterwards honoured by Brutus himself with divers offices of trust. Plutarch calls him L. Pella, and says, that having been accused and convicted of extortion by the people of Sardis, he was condemned without mercy. Cassius, a few days before, had observed a different conduct with regard to two of his friends, who being accused before him of the same crime, absolved them with a private reprimand, and kept them afterwards about his person. He acted thus out of principle, and even reproached Brutus with too great attachment to rules, at a time which demanded caution, allowances, and indulgence. But Brutus \*, who was always full of great maxims, referred him to the Ides of March, that famous day on which they had killed Cæsar, who did not extort upon mankind himself, but was a protector and encourager of publick robbers. "If," says he, "there is any lawful pretence for neglecting exact justice, it were better for us to support the friends of Cæsar, than to shut our eyes against the villanies committed by our own people. In the first case, we could only be accused of timidity; but here, with a thousand troubles and dangers, we purchase the reproach of injustice."

This instance, joined to what we have formerly mentioned, discovers that the virtue of Brutus was

\* Ο δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Μαρτίων ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ μνημονεύειν ἐκείνων, ἐν αἷς Καίσαρα ἐκείνων, ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀγνοῖα καὶ φέροντα πάλιν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἵππων δόξαται ὅτι ταῦτα φρασεύονταν. ὡς ἔτι τις ἐπὶ ἀρεταῖς καλὰ μετ' ἑσέως ἀμελεῖται τὸ δίκαιον, ἔμμενον ἢ τὸς Καίσαρος φίλος ὑπομένειν. ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ ἀναδρῆας, οὗτοι δὲ ἀδίκους δόξα μετὰ κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀρετῆς.



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much more pure than that of Cassius. This last, A. R. 719.  
Ant. C.  
42. doubtless, deserved to be esteemed for his great qualities; but his passion was dreadful, and his command harsh. On the contrary, towards his friends he shewed himself gentle and indulgent, even so far as to sacrifice in their favour the rights of justice. He was by no means an enemy to pleasure, and in private company his morality was not quite sincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An unalterable gentleness, a noble elevation of sentiments, a strength of mind over which neither passion, pleasure, nor envy, could have any influence, and an inflexible firmness in the defence of justice and honesty, composed the character of that great man. In consequence of these qualities, he was beloved of his people and troops, doated upon by his friends, admired by good men, and even not hated by those who made war against him.

The perfect confidence which they had in the justice of his views, was chiefly what gained him that universal affection and veneration. This is a glory which is proper to him, and distinguishes him from all the other heads of parties in the several wars among the Romans. For it is not thought that Pompey would ever have been disposed to have restored to the laws the sovereign power, in case he had vanquished Cæsar. It is generally believed that he would have kept himself at the head of the government, under the name of Consul and Dictator, or some other title of magistracy, which would have masked his ambition, and amused the vulgar. A great many imagine that Cassius had a design of the same nature; and although his aversion for tyranny cannot be disputed, yet it is hard to be believed, that so proud a man as he was, full of haughty courage, and frequently preferring the useful to the just, should be free of all desire of power, should enter upon a war, lead a wandering life, and expose himself to a thousand dangers, only to re-establish the Citizens in the enjoyment of their liberties. If we mount still higher,  
Marius,

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

Marius, Cinna, and Carbonius, certainly did not defend their country; they looked upon it rather as a prize, or a prey, which they wanted to seize upon, and almost owned themselves, that tyranny was the object of their wishes. But Brutus is freely absolved from all suspicions of this kind; even his enemies did him justice with regard to this point; and Antony was heard to say more than once, that he thought Brutus was the only person, who in conspiring against Cæsar, had only regarded the glory of an enterprize, which to him appeared to be good and highly commendable; but that the rest were influenced by hatred and envy.

The conduct of Brutus being so pure and elevated, it is not surprising that his language should be lofty. When he saw himself near the crisis which was to determine his fate, he wrote to Atticus, that his fortune was as happy as he could wish it. "For, said he, either by gaining the victory, I shall restore liberty to the Romans, or by dying, I shall be delivered from slavery myself. Thus I run no great risk, my condition is fixed, and the only uncertainty that remains, is to know whether I shall live free, or carry my liberty with me to the grave. It is Marc Antony, added he, who henceforward must suffer for his folly. He might have been put in the rank with Brutus, Cassius, and Cato; but he chose rather to put himself in the second rank to Octavius, with whom he will soon be obliged to fight himself, unless he happens to be overcome by us." These last words were a kind of gentle rebuke which Brutus gave to Atticus, on account of his connexions and friendship with Antony, and they contained a prediction which was verified in the event. Plutarch observes upon the first part of this fragment, that it is easy to see, that Brutus confided chiefly in his virtue, and not in his sea or land forces, how great soever they were. But it will appear at his death, as I have already hinted, that the hopes of success added greatly to his firmness.

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Brutus and Cassius having happily and speedily finished what they had to do in Asia, thought next of passing into Europe, in order to meet the Triumviri, who prepared to attack them. It was about this time that Plutarch mentions a pretended apparition, which shewed itself, as is said, to Brutus. This story is related so seriously by that great historian, and is become so famous, that I cannot allow myself to pass it over in silence.

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42.

I have already mentioned Brutus's watchings. He naturally slept but very little, and he had increased by habit this natural disposition, which was greatly assisted by his great sobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the day-time, and he allotted only that part of the night for it when no business can be done, nor any person treated with, because all the world is at rest. But especially in the time of which we are now speaking, when a load of such important cares oppressed him, and inevitable inquietude in so remarkable a crisis disturbed his brain, when he had slept a few moments after his evening repast, which was the only one he made, he set about regulating his necessary affairs; and he employed the remaining time in reading till the third watch, which was the hour when the general officers went to the tent to receive his orders.

Plutarch then relates, that in the middle of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, Brutus was busy, according to custom, alone in his tent, which was but indifferently lighted. On a sudden he thought he heard a noise as if somebody entered, and looking to the door of the tent, he perceived a gigantick body, with a frightful aspect, place itself before him, without pronouncing one single word. He had the courage to ask it, "Who of men or of the gods art thou? and who hath brought thee hither?" "Brutus," answered the phantom, "I am thy evil genius, thou shalt see me again near Philippi." "Very well," replied Brutus without being discomposed, "we shall see each other again."



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42.

The phantom disappeared ; and Brutus called his servants, who told him they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He again applied himself to his business ; but being struck with so strange a vision, he mentioned it next day to Cassius, who being an Epicurean, and consequently neither believing a spirit distinguished from matter, nor providence, attributed all that happened to a fallacy of imagination, overheated by continual application and disquietude. " For," said he, " there is no probability that there are genii ; nor, supposing them to exist, that they have the human form or voice, or any power to act upon us. And indeed I should be very glad if they did really exist, in order that we might reckon not only upon our armies and our fleets, but further upon the assistance of the gods themselves, who could not be wanting in an enterprize so just, honourable, and sacred, as that of which we are the chiefs."

Flor. IV.

Val. Max.  
I. 7.

It is thus that Plutarch relates the story ; and that nothing might be wanting, the spectre comes faithfully to the rendezvous, and shews itself again to Brutus the day before his death, but without speaking. Appian's account is conformed to Plutarch's, and that of Florus preceded them both. But these authorities, which doubtless are sufficient to give credit to an event in the order of nature, are not, in my opinion, strong enough to support such an absurd prodigy. None of these writers quotes so much as one single cotemporary witness ; none of them mentions it as being received from Brutus, or from any one to whom he had discovered it. Besides, I find the same story repeated, with almost the same circumstances, by Valerius Maximus, who relates it of Cassius of Parma. In fine, what makes me reject the testimony of these authors in this affair without any scruple, is the credulity which is common to them, with the most part of the ancients, with regard to prodigies. They relate, for example, with the greatest assurance, that two eagles lighted upon the two principal

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A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
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cipal standards of the two legions of Brutus and Cassius; that they accompanied the army in its march till the night before the battle of Philippi, and then flew away. This story, certainly, is not very probable; but suppose it was true, what conclusion could be drawn from it? or what should render it worthy to be mentioned in history? Besides, they relate as miraculous presages, the most simple things in the world, such as the want of address or attention in a person who presented a crown to Cassius reversed, instead of placing it right upon his head. Writers so very superstitious, may very well be suspected to have received, without examining, this strange account, which had no other foundation than the popular tradition.

Brutus and Cassius passed from Asia into Europe without any obstacle. Octavius and Antony were still in Italy, and two of their lieutenants, Norbanus and Decidius Saxa, whom they had sent before them with eight legions, marched through Epirus and Macedonia. These two officers of the Triumviri marched with their troops beyond Philippi, and encamped at the entry of a pass formed by two mountains, which left only a very narrow space betwixt them, being the only commodious passage from Chersonesus of Thrace into Macedonia. They had then behind them Philippi, and upon the right, towards the sea, Neapolis, a sea-port situated over-against the island of Thasos. There they expected their generals, who were not a little embarrassed to pass from Brundisium into Epirus.

For as the chiefs of the Republican party had powerful naval forces, Statius Murcus was detached by Cassius at the head of sixty sail, after staying some time before the Promontory of Tenarus\*, to hinder and dispute the passage of the Egyptian fleet, which Cleopatra sent to assist the Triumviri: as soon as he knew that that fleet was destroyed, he came to post

\* Cape Matapan, in the middle of the Morea.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

himself before the port of Brundisium, in order to prevent any from going out. Besides, Sextus Pompeius being master of great part of Sicily, as I said before, was a thorn which they would have been very glad to pull out, before they embarked on their great enterprize. He distressed Rome and Italy by famine, seizing all the provisions which were sent to them by sea, and had it likewise in his power to hinder provisions and ammunition from arriving to them, when they should get into Macedonia. For these reasons, and as besides they did not think it difficult to reduce an enemy who was, properly speaking, no more than a pyrate, while Antony was using means in Brundisium to transport the troops into Epirus, Octavius sent Salvidienus, with all the vessels he had against Sextus Pompeius, and transported himself to Reggio, to animate the war by his presence.

This was not so easily done as the Triumviri had imagined. Sextus had made good use of the time when he was allowed to remain quiet, in acquiring considerable maritime forces. Only at the approach of Salvidienus, he left off infesting the coast of Italy, and contented himself with defending Sicily. Octavius was so ill provided with vessels, that his lieutenant tried to build, in imitation of what he had seen practised in Gaul, small barks of a light wood, covered with cow hides. But these little vessels were not proper to sustain the violence of the waves in the Streights of Sicily, and only occasioned diversion to the enemy. Octavius, however, took with him a fleet, and they had a naval engagement near the rock of Scylla \*, in which Sextus had the better. Octavius, not succeeding by force, had recourse to stratagem, and sought an opportunity of transporting his troops by stealth; not doubting, but if he could once land his legions in Sicily, their valour and experience would assure him of the victory. But all was to no purpose; the coasts were too well guarded,

\* Sciglio.



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Ant. C.  
42.

and as Antony, who, in the mean time, found himself greatly distressed by Murcus, in Brundisium, demanded, in the most pressing manner, the succours and conjunction of his colleague, he was obliged to drop his design of pushing Sextus. Wherefore, leaving only as many troops behind them as was necessary to defend the coast of Italy, he went to join Antony with the rest of his forces. When he took his leave, he promised to those of Reggio and Vibo, that he would blot out their towns from the number of those who were to be given, together with their territories, as a reward to the soldiers. The motive of this promise was, the fear he was in lest these two towns, so very near Sicily, should deliver themselves to Sextus, to prevent the misfortunes with which they were threatened.

The arrival of Octavius's fleet at Brundisium, soon changed the situation of affairs. Murcus thought it most advisable to take the sea, and even to approach the coasts of Epirus, continuing however always to watch the troops of the Triumviri in their passage. But whether it was owing to want of capacity or attention on his part, or particular circumstances of winds or tides favourable to the Triumviri, all their troops and themselves were happily transported at divers voyages. Octavius was ill, and he was obliged to remain at Dyrrachium, while Antony advanced as fast as possible to join Norbanus and Saxa. Murcus, confounded and despairing at the bad success of his undertaking, continued always cruising on the same seas, to hinder the convoys they might attempt to send from Italy to Macedonia, and he was assisted in this important operation by Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom Cassius sent to him with a fleet of fifty vessels.

Antony however did not find Norbanus and Saxa in possession of the pass, which I mentioned before, on the other side of Philippi. They had been obliged to abandon it, and retreat as far as Amphipolis; for Brutus and Cassius had lost no time. Being arrived

A. R. 719.  
Ant. C.  
42.

at Seftos, after they had marched through Cherfonefus, they reviewed their army, and found it to confift of one-and-twenty legions, not quite complete, but nevertheless amounting to the number of four-score thousand fighting men. They had besides, twenty thousand auxiliary cavalry of all nations; Gauls, Spaniards, Medes, Parthians, Arabians, Galatians, and alfo Thracians. Thofe laft had for their chief Rhescuporis, whose brother Rhascus followed the contrary party. It was by agreement, and out of policy, which has frequently been practifed fince in like cafes, that thefe two princes were thus divided between two formidable powers, who came to fight in their country. Their intention was, that which ever fhould have the good fortune to be on the conquering fide, fhould protect the other.

This review prefented the moft beautiful fight that was poffible to be imagined. For Brutus, who was a great lover of fimplicity in every thing elfe, and demanded of his fubalterns the fame modefty of which he fet them an example, loved rich armour, and pleafed himfelf in ornamenting it with gold and filver. He imagined that this magnificence was proper to exalt the courage of thofe who were fufceptible of elevated fentiments, and that the value of the metal interefting others to preferve their arms, would be a motive for them to fight more valiantly. He had for the \* author and example of this way of thinking, the great Cæfar, who followed that practice from the fame principle.

Brutus and Caffius accompanied the ceremony of the review with a fpeech to the foldiers. As great part of thefe troops had formerly fought for Cæfar, they thought it neceffary to lay before them the

\* Other great men have been of a contrary opinion. See, upon this fubject, the examples and authorities, for and againft it, collected by M. Rollin, *Hift. Anc. l. XVII. §. 5.* Without pretending to decide the queftion, I fhall only remark, that the cenfurers of this magnificence in armour, have been commonly fuch as could not attain to it.

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great and just motives which ought to attach them to the cause which they now undertook to defend.

A. R. 710.

Ant. Cl.

43.

For this purpose they raised a Tribunal, upon the top of which were placed the two generals, having about them all the Senators of their party. Cassius harangued the troops, Brutus having imposed upon himself this law, as I have said, to yield to him in every thing the distinctions of honour and pre-eminence.

To the speech they joined another kind of argument, which operated more effectually on the minds of the soldiers, and this was a large distribution of money. As they had amassed great riches in the opulent countries of Asia, they found themselves in a condition to give to each soldier fifteen hundred denarii (one-and-thirty pounds five shillings) five times as much to each of the captains, and to the Tribunes in proportion. They even added particular gratifications to those who distinguished themselves by their bravery. They observed great order in this distribution; for as soon as each had received his present, he marched off towards the Hebrus, and made room for those who were to follow. The general rendezvous where the army was to assemble was the plain of Dorisea, celebrated in history for the review which Xerxes made there formerly of his innumerable troops. From Dorisea Brutus and Cassius continued to march towards the East, coasting along the shore, and accompanied by a fleet commanded by Tillius Cimber, who frequently landed, and marked out the proper places for their encampments.

Norbanus and Saxa had not sufficient forces to resist so formidable an army. Saxa, who was advanced nearer the enemy, marched back to Norbanus; and having joined their forces, they hoped that the advantage of their situation would make amends for their weakness, and that they might be able to maintain their ground in the narrow passage in which they were posted. Brutus and Cassius would have been very much embarrassed to have forced this passage,



A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

without the assistance of Rhescuporis. That prince, being a native of the country, shewed them a way through the mountains, but where they had no water, and so covered with bushes, thickets, and woods, that they were obliged almost at every step to clear the way with the hatchet by cutting down the trees, which hindered their passage. They appointed him a number of picked men, at the head of whom was Bibulus, son-in-law of \* Brutus. These took with them provisions and water for three days; and after incredible fatigues, when they had begun to murmur against Rhescuporis, and to suspect him of treachery, at last, the fourth day, they perceived the plain and the river. Upon this they gave a loud shout of joy, and it was that which saved Norbanus and Saxa, who must otherwise have been surrounded. Rhascus, who, as I have said, was in their camp, guessed at the meaning of the shout, and, extremely surprized that troops should be able to pass by a way which he thought scarcely practicable for wild beasts, immediately gave notice of it to the lieutenants of the Triumviri, who retired in haste to Amphipolis. Thus the Republican chiefs found the passes open, and marched on to the other side of Philippi, where they happened upon a ground very advantageous for encampment, where they might expect the enemy. Appian gives a description of those places, which will throw a great deal of light upon the account we are to give of what happened there.

The city of Philippi, formerly Datus, and before that Crenides, took the name which it had at the time I am now speaking of, from Philip, the first author of the Macedonian grandeur, who had fortified that place, as proper to keep the Thracians in awe. It was situated upon a mountain, all which it covered, even to the out-let of the passes, through which the army of Brutus and Cassius marched. Towards the

\* He was son of Portia, who before she espoused Brutus, had been married to the son of the famous Bibulus, colleague and enemy of Cæsar.

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A. R. 710.  
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42.

West there was a plain below it, which stretched itself out in a gentle declivity, almost fifteen leagues, as far as the river Strymon. In this plain, about two miles from the town, were two little hills, at about a mile's distance from each other, and defended on one side by those mountains which the Roman detachment under the conduct of Rhescuporis had such difficulty to pass over, and on the other by a morass, which communicated with the sea. It was upon these two hills that Brutus and Cassius fixed their camps; Brutus on the hill towards the North, and Cassius on that towards the South; and in the intermediate space which separated them, they cast up lines and a parapet from one hill to the other. Thus they kept a firm communication between the two camps, which mutually defended each other, as if they had been only one; while in the mean time they were really distinct; and this distinction procured to each of them greater facility in keeping their men together, and making them observe proper discipline.

This encampment was extremely commodious to them in every respect. The heights which they occupied preserved them from being attacked, and put them in a condition to keep upon the defensive, if they judged it proper. On the other hand, if they chose to fight, they had before them a large plain, to draw up their numerous armies upon. A small river called Ganga, or Gangites, ran at the bottom of their camps. Behind them was the sea, which furnished them with all kinds of provisions, which they could stand in need of. The island of Thasos, at twelve miles distance, served them for a general magazine; and at the distance of nine miles, the town of Neapolis opened its port to their fleet, and there kept it secure. So advantageous a situation determined them not to go far off, and if they had even inclined to it, they would have found it very difficult. For Antony, upon the news that Norbanus and Saxa had been obliged to retreat, fearing lest he should lose Amphipolis,

A. R. 710. Amphipolis, made such long forced marches, that he arrived much sooner than he was expected.

Ant. C.  
43.

He had the satisfaction to find not only his lieutenants masters of Amphipolis, but the town fortified, and put in a posture of defence. He there deposited all the baggage, leaving a legion to defend it; while with the rest of his troops he advanced towards the enemy, and encamped at only a mile's distance.

This boldness astonished Brutus and Cassius; and so much the more, that in the disposition of the camps, all the disadvantage lay on Antony's side. He encamped on the plain; and his adversaries on the rising ground. They had their wood from vast forests, which were at their command; and he from marshes, which furnished him more with reeds than wood proper for palisadoes. A river supplied them very commodiously with plenty of water, for which the other was obliged to dig wells. In short, the provisions came to them from Phasos, an island at a small distance from them; while Antony was obliged to bring his from Amphipolis, almost at the distance of fifteen leagues. And, what is still more considerable, the Republican Chiefs were sure of subsistence from Asia, and all the East, which depended upon them, while the Triumviri had no resource but Macedonia and Thessaly, because the fleets of Murcus and Domitius on one side, and of Sextus Pompeius on the other, hindered them from getting any provisions, either from Italy, Spain, or Africa. Besides, they were run short of money, and upon reviewing their armies, instead of being able to imitate the magnificence of their enemies, they were reduced to distribute to each soldier, by way of present, twenty-five denarii only.

Weak in so many different respects, they had only the advantage over the others in this, viz. the experienced valour and number of their troops. After Octavius had joined Antony, their combined armies consisted



## ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consul.

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consisted of nineteen \* legions, composed chiefly of Cæsar's old soldiers, and not only complete as to their number, but even augmented by a great many supernumeraries. Thus their infantry amounted at least to one hundred thousand men. But their cavalry was less numerous than that of the enemy, for they had only thirteen thousand horse to twenty thousand of theirs. If we call to mind what we have said of the forces of the Republican party, we shall see that two such powerful Roman armies never before fought against one another.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
43.

Octavius did not make them wait long for him; on the contrary, he made all the expedition possible, not being willing that the affair should be determined in his absence, and fearing little less a victory obtained by his colleague without him, than one obtained by his enemies. From this motive he remained no longer at Dyrrachium than the violence of the disease absolutely obliged him to; and at the end of ten days, though he was very far from being perfectly recovered, he began to march with his army. After the two Triumviri were joined, they placed themselves in such a manner, that Octavius was opposite to Brutus and Antony to Cassius.

Their scheme and interest was to bring on a general action as soon as possible. They then offered battle to the enemy, who for the contrary reason would not engage, and contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without leaving the high ground, or going down into the plain. Cassius especially, who understood war very well, was strongly attached to the scheme of

\* I have said before, according to Appian, that in the conference in the island of Reno, it had been agreed upon, that Octavius and Antony should cross the seas, each at the head of twenty legions. Here the same Appian mentions no more than nineteen, to which there is only one to be added, which Antony had left at Amphipolis to guard the baggage. It may be supposed that the forty legions, which were mentioned before, being far from complete, the Triumviri had reduced them to a much smaller number.

letting

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

letting the army of the Triumviri decay with famine, which must certainly have been the case in a short time. With this view, on Antony's arrival, knowing the bold and enterprizing character of the general who was opposed to him, he applied himself to fortify his entrenchments more and more. And as between the left wing of his camp and the morass which I have mentioned, there remained a small spot of ground, he drew a line from his camp to the morass well palisadoed, to prevent all surprize, and secure his rear.

Appian does honour to Antony, for having by his boldness and ability forced Cassius to fight. He says, that while he amused the enemy, by drawing out his men every day in order of battle, he detached some cohorts to work constantly, in order to make the morass passable, and then to establish lodgments between the camp of Cassius and the island of Phasos. They beat down the reeds, which were on a line with the work they had begun, and formed a causeway, which they made firm on each side with a wall of stones; and when they met with any place where the marsh was too deep, they threw a bridge over it. In short, at the end of ten days and nights the work was finished, without the workmen's having been observed by the enemy, because they were covered with a thicket of reeds, which was between them and the camp of Cassius. This general was not apprized of so tedious and important a work, till he discovered the forts which several of Antony's cohorts had raised, and where they had lodged themselves. Strangely surprized at the boldness and success of the undertaking, he resolved to raise a work of the same kind in the morass, and to make a road which should go from his camp to that of Antony, should cut the other, and thus break the communication between Antony's camp and the forts which were raised behind his. In order to hinder this work, Antony in presence of all the army, went at noon to attack furiously the lines which Cassius had drawn from his camp to the morass. The sequel of the narration appears

pears to me not easily comprehended. According to him, the troops of Brutus, thinking themselves insulted by Antony's boldness, fell immediately upon him, without waiting for the order of their general, and then turned themselves against Octavius's army, which was opposite to them. These motions appear to me to be very irregular. But however it be, it was this assault given by Antony to the lines of Cassius, which gave occasion to a general battle, according to Appian's account of it.

Plutarch relates the affair in quite a different manner, and will have it, that the battle was the effect not of any accident, but of a deliberate resolution, which had been taken in council between Brutus and Cassius, and of which he gives a full account. Cassius opposed this plan, as I have said, but Brutus at last overcame his reluctance. He wanted to have the affair decided in the speediest manner, in order either to terminate quickly the slavery of his country, or the miseries and disquiets which mankind suffer in war. He was strengthened in this resolution by the advantages which his cavalry gained in different skirmishes, over that of the enemy. In short, some dissensions and suspicions of the fidelity of several of the officers, determined a number even of Cassius's friends to be of Brutus's opinion. There was only one of Brutus's friends, named Atilius, who was for delaying and putting off the time till winter. Brutus having asked him, in full council, what motive influenced him to be of that opinion: "At least," answered Atilius, "I shall have a longer time to live." This expression, which denoted despair, displeased every body exceedingly; and Cassius seeing himself so ill supported, and always alone in his opinion, consented to a battle entirely out of complaisance, and against the conviction of his own mind. What he said to Messalla was a proof of this. After supper, which was but a dull one, and during which Cassius, who was naturally gay, appeared extremely pensive, when Messalla retired, he took him by the hand, and spoke

to



ÆR. 710.  
Ant. C.  
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to him in Greek: "I take you to witness, Messalla,  
" that I am in the case of Pompey, forced in spite of  
" myself to risk the fate of my country on the hazard  
" of a single action. However, let us take courage,  
" and place our hopes on fortune, which can rectify  
" by one of her caprices, not extraordinary to her,  
" the wrong resolution which we now take." Those  
were the last words of Cassius to Messalla. He then  
embraced him, begging him to sup with him next  
night, which was his birth-night. Brutus, on the  
contrary, was full of confidence, and the great maxims  
of philosophy, with which he still encouraged and  
comforted himself and his friends, were all the enter-  
tainment during their repast.

Next morning very early, the signal of battle, viz.  
the purple coat of arms, appeared on the tents of the  
two generals. Before the troops went out, they  
talked a little while together on that spot of ground  
which separated the two camps, and Cassius said to  
Brutus: "I wish we may succeed; and enjoy long to-  
" gether the fruits of our victory! But you know  
" very well, that the greatest events are those whose  
" success is the most uncertain. As then, supposing  
" we should fail of success, it will not be easy for us  
" to see one another again, tell me what you think of  
" the choice between flight and death." Brutus  
answered him, "When I was young, I ventured  
" to utter, I know not how, a hardy maxim in  
" morality, and dared to blame Cato for killing  
" himself; maintaining that it was neither conforma-  
" ble to the respect due to the gods, nor worthy of a  
" man of courage, to yield to fortune, and fly from  
" disgrace, instead of supporting it with constancy.  
" But now, finding myself in a critical conjuncture,  
" I think quite differently. If the gods are not  
" pleased to favour our arms, it is not my inclina-  
" tion to run after new hopes, and to try new efforts,  
" I shall lay down my life, giving thanks to destiny  
" that I have already sacrificed to my country on the  
" day of the Ides of March. Since that time I have  
" lived

## ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consul.

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"lived only for her, but have always preserved the rights of my liberty and glory." Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus, "Let us go," said he, "to fight in this disposition. We are sure either of conquering, or of not fearing the conquerors."

A. R. 770.  
Ant. C.  
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It may seem surprizing that Brutus should call it boldness in a person to condemn a voluntary death. This he had imbibed from the maxims of the Stoics, who looked upon suicide as the highest degree of heroism. But we know that other philosophers, more moderate and judicious, have established that maxim which Brutus here retracts; and \* have thought, which is very true, that it is not allowable for any man to leave, of his own accord, the post in which his general, that is God himself, has placed him.

The Triumviri did not expect a battle. Antony at the head of his troops, proposed to force the lines of Cassius, on the side of the morass (in which Plutarch agrees with Appian): and the army of Octavius was drawn up in order, to support Antony in case of need. It is certain, however, that the action began by a brisk and unexpected attack on the lines of Cassius. With regard to the plan, prosecution, and history of this great action, I find so much uncertainty and confusion in the account given of it by authors, that I shall content myself to relate, without connexion, the most remarkable circumstances, and such as are allowed to be true without exception.

The army of Brutus performed wonders, and indeed too well, without giving attention to the tumultuous cries from the morass; and even without regarding the orders of the general. They threw themselves with fury upon the troops of Octavius, who were opposite to them, and broke them at the first charge. The legions which formed Brutus's right wing rushed upon the left of the enemy; and having made them fall back, penetrated as far as the

\* Vetat Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est Dei, de statione decedere. Cic. de Sen. n. 73.

camp,

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

camp, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces those who were left to guard it, and then thought of nothing else but plunder. Brutus himself was transported with the ardour of his troops, and having crushed the center of Octavius's army, he also penetrated into the camp, where, by an unpardonable blunder, he thought of nothing but pushing the advantage he had gained, persuading himself that Cassius had the same good fortune.

But it was quite otherwise. The lines of that unfortunate general were forced, and immediately his cavalry shamefully took flight. There was no effort which he did not try to make his infantry stand, even to the catching hold of the flyers by the arm, seizing himself the colours, and planting them on the ground, as a signal for them to rally. But he could not inspire his dismayed troops with courage by his valour. His army was entirely put into disorder, and his camp taken by Antony; so that very ill attended, he was obliged to retire under a little hill at some distance.

Brutus had gained a complete victory. He saw with great satisfaction the field of battle abandoned by the enemy, and covered with their dead, their camp seized and plundered, three of their standards with several colours taken, and carried by his soldiers in triumph. But returning to his own camp, he was surprised and astonished not to find the tent of Cassius standing, and visible as usual above the rest. He observed, with the same astonishment, that the ramparts were demolished in several places. Then he began to apprehend that a misfortune had happened, and sent orders to those who were scouring the country, to leave off the pursuit, and return to their camp. Thus he disposed himself to repair the disaster of his colleague, but it was too late, and his slow motions only served to hasten the death of Cassius.

Brutus detached a body of cavalry to find out Cassius, and bring him back certain news of him. This detachment having been observed at a distance, by those



those who were with Cassius, (for as to himself he did not raise his head,) he imagined them to be his enemies in search of him. In the mean time, in order to be positively informed, he ordered an officer, named Titinius, to advance and reconnoitre them. Titinius was joined by Brutus's detachment, who seeing a friend that was attached to Cassius, and being informed of him that his general was alive, shouted aloud for joy. Those who were more particularly acquainted with him, alighted from their horses, shook hands with him and embraced him; while the rest made a circle round him with all the commotions and noise of immoderate joy, which was the cause of one of the greatest misfortunes, for it was this which deceived Cassius, and persuaded him that Titinius was taken by the enemy. "Must I then," said he with excessive grief, "out of love to life, stay to see my friend made prisoner before my eyes?" He said no more, but retired into his tent with one of his freedmen, named Pindarus, whom he had kept about his person ever since the time of the misfortunes of Crassus, in the war against the Parthians, that in time of need he might be his last resource, by taking away his life. That freedman then cut off his head, for it was found separated from his body. Pindarus himself appeared no more after that time, which made some suspect, but without any probability, that he had done it without orders.

Titinius arrived very soon after with the crown, which had been put upon his head by Brutus's party. Struck with the groans and lamentations of the friends of Cassius, he thereby understood the disaster which his slowness had occasioned; and he punished himself for it immediately, by falling on his sword.

Brutus already knew of the defeat of Cassius, and was informed of his death as he drew near his camp. He ran to him, bathed him with tears, calling him "the last of the Romans," and saying, he had no hopes that Rome would ever again produce so great a man as this resolute enemy of tyranny. Afterwards

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

having caused them to wrap up the body decently, he ordered it to be carried to the island Thasos, there to receive the last honours; for fear that this mournful ceremony, if it was celebrated in the camp, should weaken the courage of the soldiers.

It was only the precipitate despair and false heroism of Cassius, which gave the advantage of this famous action to the party of the Triumviri. Otherwise they were both equal, or rather the Republicans may be said to have had the superiority. The left wing on both sides was defeated, and one of the camps of each party was forced and taken. But the number of the slain on the side of the defenders of liberty, was one half less than on that of their enemies, viz. eight thousand instead of sixteen; and the camp which Brutus had taken was common to the two armies of Octavius and Antony, whereas that which Antony forced belonged to Cassius only; and though it was destroyed, yet that of Brutus was still entire, which offered a secure retreat for the vanquished troops. The death of Cassius made the balance incline in favour of those, which, in other respects, were the most unfortunate. It deprived the Republicans of the most skilful general of the two, and Brutus of a companion who was extremely useful to him, in directing his military operations, and ruling the troops. It also gave spirits to the enemy, which before they heard that news, were greatly sunk. But when a slave of Cassius came to inform them of it, bringing with him as proofs the coat of arms and sword of his master, they again took courage, and thought themselves more in a condition than ever to hope for victory.

Vell. ii. 70.  
Flor. iv. 7.  
Suet. Aug.  
91.  
Appian.  
Dio.  
Plut. Brut.  
& Anton.

I have said nothing of Octavius in this account of the action, because he had no great share in it. He was not yet recovered; however, he made them carry him in a litter into the middle of his troops ranged in order of battle, not out of bravery, but in consequence of a dream of Artorius his physician, who said he had received orders from Minerva to carry Octavius out of the camp. This precaution was far

from

from being useless, for if Octavius had remained in the camp, he could not have avoided being killed or taken. His litter in which they thought he lay was pierced several times, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped from the field of battle. He made them carry him as fast as they could towards a morass, from whence he gained the wing which Antony commanded.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
43.

Suet. Aug.  
13.

Pliny says still more, for he affirms that Octavius remained three days concealed in the morass. This was so little probable, and it is so natural to think that the vanquished General would seek and meet with a speedy refuge from the victorious army of his colleague, that I cannot help looking upon this account of Pliny's as a false report, countenanced afterwards by \* Antony. In the dissensions which broke out afterwards between them, they have kept within no bounds; and Antony, whose bravery was above all suspicion, took pleasure in casting a reproach of timidity upon Octavius. I am not more surprised at the report spread to the disadvantage of Antony himself, signifying that he was not present at the action. Octavius retorted upon him, and being unjustly reproached by him, attempted to rob him of a glory he justly deserved. The passions of men alter objects so strangely, that it is no easy affair to discover the truth, or even the appearance of it, through those clouds which sometimes obscure the most celebrated actions.

Flor. iv. 7.  
Plut. Ant.

The first care of Brutus, when he became the sole general, was to assemble Cassius's troops, and rouse up their courage. As they had lost every thing by the plundering their camp, he promised them two thousand denarii each, to make up the loss which

\* Pliny seems to derive his authority from Agrippa and Mæcenæ, whose testimony must be doubtful in the present case. But there is some obscurity in the text; and besides, as he does not quote the proper expressions of these two witnesses, we may be allowed to suspect that he misunderstood them. Any supposition appears to me more probable than the fact which I here refute.



A. R. 710  
Ant. C.  
45.

they had sustained by the enemy. There was nothing more capable of giving them joy and confidence. They admired the magnificence of such a gift, and with loud shouts of applause proclaimed Brutus alone invincible and victorious among all the generals who were engaged in the battle. Antony, however, might share this glory with him. Brutus was charmed at the joy he saw arise in the hearts of his vanquished troops, but he durst not yet trust sufficiently to them to accept the challenge which the Triumviri gave him next day. When he saw them drawn up to offer him battle next day, he kept himself at the head of his camp upon the high grounds; and when weary with waiting he observed them retire, he also did the same.

Brutus's situation was extremely embarrassed, and he met with particular difficulties in each of his two armies, which constrained him very much. The victorious army was overcharged with a vast multitude of prisoners, which were very troublesome to guard. There was especially among them a great number of slaves, which it was not prudent to leave surrounded with arms, for fear they should lay hold of them, and occasion a great deal of disorder. Brutus determined to cause them all to be killed; which resolution was very opposite to the gentleness of his character, but which he thought justifiable, as well from necessity, as the example of the enemy, who had killed all their prisoners. With regard to those who were free, who were taken in the battle, he sent back a great many of them, telling them, that they ought not to suppose that they had been taken by him, but more justly by his enemies; for in the camp of the Triumviri they were prisoners and slaves, but free and citizens in that of Brutus. However, it was not possible for him to execute at large those generous sentiments, the cruel zeal of his friends, and the principal officers of his army being so greatly exasperated, that it was necessary in order to save those unfortunate prisoners, to procure them the means of hiding themselves, or escaping by flight.

Dio.

His

## ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consuls.

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A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

His friends were especially inexorable with respect to two buffoons, one of whom Plutarch calls Voluminus, and the other Saculio. They brought these two men to him, accusing them of still continuing their low buffooneries, even at the expence of their vanquishers. Brutus, who was engaged in affairs of more importance, did not speak a word; and Messalla, who was present, said, that if they believed the accusation to be true, he thought they should begin with whipping them heartily, and then send them back to the Triumviri, to make them ashamed of the company they kept even in time of war. This proposal of Messalla's diverted a great many. But Casca, he who gave the first blow to Cæsar, was greatly displeased at it. "It is not," says he, "by indecent jokes and pleasantries that we ought to express our regret for the death of Cassius." And, addressing himself to Brutus, he added, "You will testify what sentiments you preserve with regard to your colleague, according as you punish or spare those who insult his memory." Brutus, offended at this rude expression of Casca, "Why do you then," answered he, "trouble me with your questions? why do not you execute your pleasure upon them?" This answer was taken for a consent. They then brought out these two miserable buffoons, and made them pay with their lives for the impertinence of their tongues.

The army of Cassius gave still more trouble to Brutus. These vanquished troops, deprived of the chief who used to command them, were timid before the enemy, and arrogant with regard to their new general. Brutus, who was good-natured, and more inclined to make use of reason and gentle methods, than the rigour of command, could hardly restrain his soldiers, who were always ready to mutiny. He was even afraid that they should give ear to the solicitations of the Triumviri, who dispersed letters among them, inviting them to desert under very great promises. These difficulties disturbed his constancy, and

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

disposed him to throw off, in some measure, the principles of humanity and clemency, which, till that time, had been the chief object of his conduct. In order to fix those restless spirits, who had it in their power at any time to escape from him, he promised to his army, after the victory, the plunder of two of the most flourishing towns of Greece, Theſſalonica and Lacedæmon.

Plutarch \* looks upon that as the only reproach on the character of Brutus, which would admit of no apology. It is true, says that grave author, that Octavius and Antony allowed their soldiers rewards still more odious, seeing they drove almost all the old inhabitants out of Italy, to distribute their lands and houses to their troops. But there was a great difference between the Triumviri and Brutus. The former had no other motive than to satisfy their ambition, and they only made war to render themselves masters of the Empire. But as Brutus, on the contrary, professed the highest virtue, it was not allowable for him neither to vanquish, nor to save himself from danger, but by means which were strictly just and honourable; especially after the death of Cassius, who was blamed for having sometimes forced his colleague to violent measures. But such is the frailty of certain conjunctures. In a voyage, if the rudder of the ship happens to be broke, they endeavour to repair it with other pieces of wood, as well as possible, which indeed have not quite the desired effect, but however are necessary for the present purpose. In the same manner Brutus, finding himself in a very

\* Τὸ τοῦ Βρούτου βίον μόνον ἵκεν τῶν ἐξαληκμένων ἀνταρξέων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς δεινότερης νικητικῆς τοῖς στρατευομένοις Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κασσίου ἐξέτισαν, ὅλην δὲ τὴν πόλιν Ἰταλίαν τὰς παλαιὰς οἰκίας ἐξέλασαν, ἵνα χωρὶς ἕκαστοι καὶ πόλιν τὰς μὴ ἀποσκαύσας λαβούσι· ἀλλὰ πάντες μὲν ἄρχοντες καὶ πρῶτοι ἐπέβησαν τὸ τοῦ Βρούτου πλοῖον. διὰ δὲ τὴν αἰσθησὶν ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ σάξιν αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν, ὅμοιωτα τῇ καλῇ καὶ δικαίᾳ καὶ ταύτῃ, Κασσίου τιθναίνοντο, οὗ αἰτίαν ἔχοντες καὶ Βρούτου ὁμολογῶντες ὡς τῶν βιωτικῶν. Ἀλλ' ὥστε ἐν πόλει ἀνδραγαθῶς συλλέγοντες ἅπαντα ἀποσπῶντες καὶ ἀποσπῶντες ἐπιχειροῦντες, ἐκ τῶν μὲν ἀνδραγαθῶν δὲ μαχαρόμενοι πρὸς τὴν χρίαν οὕτω Βρούτου ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτῃ καὶ μετὰ τοῖς ἀνδραγαθῶν ὡς ἔχοντες ἀνδραγαθῶν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθῶν χρεώδεις τοῖς ἀνδραγαθῶν καὶ πόλιν ἀνδραγαθῶν καὶ πόλιν ἀνδραγαθῶν.



troublesome situation, only thought of providing against the most pressing incidents. He could no longer keep the equilibrium, because he wanted Cassius, who had served him as a counterpoise; and allowed himself to be led, almost against his will, by the counsels of those who were about him, and to whom every thing appeared right which tended to calm the soldiers of Cassius.

The Triumviri had the advantage, in being able to trust to the fidelity of their troops; but in every other particular they were in a much worse condition than their enemies. They began to suffer from famine; their camp was situated low, bordering upon marshes, and consequently unhealthy and incommodious. The autumnal rains having come on since the battle, their tents were filled with mud, and a great quantity of rain, which froze immediately. To add to their misfortunes, they were informed that a powerful reinforcement, which was sent to them from Italy by sea, had been beaten, dispersed, and utterly ruined by the combined fleets of Murcus and Ahenobarbus. That reinforcement consisted of two legions, one of which was the Martial, so renowned for its bravery; besides a Prætorian cohort of one of the Triumviri, amounting to two thousand men; as also between ten and twelve hundred horse, and some new raised troops, whose number is not specified. All these troops being embarked on board transports, under the escort of some vessels of war, the Republican admirals, who guarded the coast of Epirus and Illyrium, came to meet them with a fleet of one hundred and thirty galleys, each having three rows of oars. The engagement was very hot, and if valour could have determined the success, the Triumviri's troops must have had the advantage. But the inequality was too great between trading vessels and armed galleys; and the small number of those which served to escort the convoy, was overcome by the multitude of the enemies vessels. They all either perished by the sword, or fire, or saw themselves obliged to yield to the vanquishers, and take part with them. There were some

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
44.

few who saved themselves on the rocks, or on desert islands, and there, wanting every thing, hunger constrained them to gnaw the sails and cordage, and they endeavoured to quench their thirst by licking pitch and tar.

Octavius and Antony were punctually informed of this disaster; and this was a fresh motive for them to try by all manner of ways, and at any rate, to bring Brutus to an action. But he, by an unexplicable piece of ill fortune, heard nothing of this engagement, though it happened the same day with the battle before-mentioned, till twenty days after, that is, till the second battle of Philippi. If Brutus had been informed of the victory of his fleet, it is very certain that he would not have hazarded this second battle. For being sufficiently stocked with all sorts of provisions, advantageously situated, and besides all this, master of the sea, he would have reduced his enemies to perish by famine and misery in their camp; which the winter that fast approached, would very soon have obliged them to abandon; and if they had wanted to return to Italy, the Republican fleet would render the passage impossible, or at least very difficult and hazardous. Plutarch acknowledges here a singular attention and an express determination of Providence. The \* Empire, says he, could not be governed by an authority divided amongst several, but stood in need of one chief. Thus the Gods, willing to remove the only man who could stand in the way of him whom they designed master of the universe, hindered Brutus from receiving advantage from an event which would have assured him of the victory. He was within a very little of receiving this information, which if he had, would have entirely changed the face of affairs. For the evening before the second battle of Philippi, a deserter named Clodius, came into his camp, and told this piece of news as a thing which was publick in the army of the Triumviri. But

\* Τὸν ἀσφαλισμένον, ὡς εἶπεν, ἐκείνι ἀπὸ λαοῦ ὄντων καὶ δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν  
δυσμηνίαν, ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκεν καὶ μετασῆσαι τὸν μόνον ἱκανὸν εἶναι τῷ κρατοῦσι δυνάμει  
βασίλει. ἀνίσταται τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ.

## ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consuls.

41

they despised his information, looking on it as a piece of flattery, by which this deserter wanted to make his court to his new friends. In short, they were not at the pains of communicating it to Brutus.

A. R. 714.  
Ant. C.  
41.

Next morning, the armies being drawn up in order of battle, they remained a long while opposite to each other, without offering to engage. Brutus did not see among his troops an air of joy and ardour, which could inspire him with the assurance of vanquishing. The cavalry were in no manner of hurry to begin the fight, waiting till the infantry should shew them the example. Besides, while he reviewed the ranks, he received several informations, which made him suspect the fidelity of a good many of the officers, and a great number of the troops; and these suspicions were the more easily credited by him, as Cæsar's old soldiers, which chiefly composed his army, might naturally be supposed to preserve an attachment to that party which they formerly belonged to. In short, a brave officer named Camulatus, who had been honoured with remarkable presents for his valour, deserted to the enemy in the sight of Brutus. This grieved him excessively; and partly through indignation, and partly through fear of a greater desertion, he immediately gave the signal, and began the attack towards the ninth hour of the day, that is to say, within three hours of sun-set.

He had still the advantage where he commanded in person. At the head of his infantry he bore down the enemy; and, supported by his cavalry, he made a very great slaughter, and followed them a long way. But his left wing fearing to be taken in flank, stretched itself out in order to enlarge its front; by means of which the middle became too weak to resist the violent effort of the troops of the Triumviri. It was here then that the army of Brutus began to yield. The center being put into disorder and broken, the Triumviri, careful to make the best use of this first success, instead of amusing themselves with pursuing, killing, and making prisoners, thought only of hinder-



A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
43.

dering those troops to rally again, who had begun to retreat. With this design they separated from one another; and while Octavius penetrated as far as the enemies camp, and took possession of the posts to cut off the retreat of the fliers, Antony got in behind Brutus, and surrounded him.

Brutus performed wonders in so pressing an extremity; and acting both with head and hands, he shewed himself equally a soldier and a commander; but he had nobody to second him. The troops of Cassius, amongst whom in the first action there was more disorder than slaughter, had still preserved an impression of terror, which communicated itself to the rest of the army; whereas on the side of the Triumviri, those who were vanquished were cut to pieces at the same time, and left behind them none of that terror with which troops are naturally struck, when opposed to their vanquishers. And thus it appeared to have been a great advantage to Brutus, to have lost fewer in the first engagement than the enemy, and yet this was the cause of his defeat in the second.

Brutus, surrounded with the most valiant officers that he had, fought a long while. Here it was that a son of Cato made amends, by a glorious death, for the follies of his youth. For he had not imitated the discretion and modesty of his father, and his connexions with a Cappadocian woman, had brought upon him a great many jests and railleries. But upon this occasion he appeared worthy of the blood from which he sprung, demonstrating that it is easier to have courage against dangers, or even death itself, than against pleasures. He was always in the heat of the fight, and, overcome with numbers, he neither fled nor retreated; but calling aloud to his enemies, and naming himself by his own name, and that of his father, he fell at last upon a heap of dead bodies, with which the ground about him was covered.

A great many brave men, and among others the brother of Cassius, perished in this manner, fighting beside

beside Brutus. But after great and generous efforts, he was obliged to yield to necessity; and seeing all was lost, he resolved to fly, which was no easy matter for him to do. For Antony had expressly ordered, by no means to suffer the Chiefs to escape, for fear they should renew the war. Brutus run a very great risk of being taken, and it was owing to the generosity of a friend that he escaped.

A troop of Thracians were absolutely bent on taking him, and pursued him very close. Lucilius, who accompanied him in his flight, being willing to allow him time to escape, stopt, and allowed himself to be taken by those barbarians, telling them that he was Brutus; and, to confirm them in their mistake, he entreated them to carry him to Antony, as to an old friend, whereas Octavius was an implacable enemy to Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with so good a prize, returned towards Antony, to whom they dispatched some of their companions, to give him notice that they were bringing Brutus along with them. Antony marched to meet them, followed by a great number of officers and soldiers, whom this report had assembled; some of whom regretted the bad fortune of so virtuous a man, while others accused him of degenerating from the glory of his ancestors, in suffering himself, through an immoderate desire of life, to become a prey to a troop of Barbarians. When Antony saw the Thracians approach, he was a good deal embarrassed, hardly knowing in what manner he ought to receive Brutus. But Lucilius advancing with an air of confidence: "It is not Brutus," says he, "that is taken, fortune has not yet had the power of committing so great an outrage upon virtue. You will find him, dead or alive, always worthy of himself. I have deceived your soldiers, and I present myself before you, ready to suffer whatever punishment you shall please to inflict upon me for my boldness." At this, the joy of the Thracians, who had taken Lucilius prisoner, was changed into shame and indignation, and they appeared quite confounded:

*A. R. 710.* founded: "Be not troubled at the mistake," says  
*Ant. C.* Antony to them, "you have taken a much better  
 42. "prize than that which you sought after. You  
 "wanted to take an enemy, and you have brought  
 "me a friend. I take all the gods to witness that I  
 "should have been very much troubled to know how  
 "to behave to Brutus. But men, such as Lucilius,  
 "I love much better to have for my friends than my  
 "enemies. Having said this, Antony stretched out  
 his hand to Lucilius, embraced him cordially, and  
 committed him to the charge of one of his friends,  
 whom he ordered to take care of him. Lucilius ever  
 after this remained attached to Antony, and preserved  
 for him the same fidelity which he had shewn to  
 Brutus, and with the same ill fortune.

In the mean time Brutus had passed over a rivulet,  
 the banks of which were covered with wood, and very  
 rocky. Night being come on he did not go far, but  
 sat down in a hollow place, with his back against a  
 rock. He had with him a small number of his friends,  
 and the first officers of his army, amongst whom was  
 P. Volumnius, whom Plutarch cites as the author  
 of this part of Brutus's life. I shall not scruple to re-  
 late all those little circumstances which Plutarch has  
 taken from these memoirs.

Brutus lifting up his eyes to heaven, which was all  
 spangled with stars, repeated a verse out of the *Medea*  
 of Euripides, the sense of which is as follows: "O  
 Jupiter, may he who is the occasion of so many mis-  
 chiefs, not escape thy vengeance." He meant this  
 most probably of Antony, whose assistance and sup-  
 port he had hoped for, in order to re-establish liberty  
 after the death of Cæsar; and who, by embracing the  
 contrary party, was really the cause of all the mischiefs  
 which followed. Brutus added another quotation of  
 a Greek poet; two verses which Volumnius had for-  
 got, but are hinted at by Florus, and mentioned by

\* Ζεῦ, μὴ λείδῃς σὶ τῶνδ' ὅς σ' ἀντι᾽ ἀνδρῶν.

EURIP. *Med.* v. 333.



## ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consul.

45

Dio. It is a blasphemy against virtue. "O" un-  
fortunate virtue, says Hercules, in that poet, thou  
art nothing but a name, and I have worshipped thee  
as if thou hadst been a real good, but thou art only  
the slave of fortune." Language of despair, which  
exposed the constancy that Brutus had hitherto shown,  
and evidently discovered, that the hope of success  
was a necessary support to him. It is thus that virtue,  
which is purely human, and not founded upon the re-  
velation of another life, where happiness will al-  
ways reconcile itself to virtue, never fails to contra-  
dict itself.

Brutus then called to mind, with a great deal of  
concern, those which he had seen perish in the battle,  
and particularly regretted Flavius, chief engineer of  
his army, and Labeo, one of his lieutenants, the fa-  
ther of the celebrated lawyer of that name. Mean-  
while one of the company was thirsty, and observing  
Brutus in the same condition, he took a helmet, and  
went to fetch some water from the rivulet, which was  
hard by. In the mean time they heard a noise from  
another quarter, and Volumnius, together with Dar-  
danus, Brutus's equerry, went to see what was the  
cause of it. When they came back again they en-  
quired after the water, but it was drank while they  
were gone. Brutus was still composed enough to smile  
at this little adventure. "The water is drank," says  
"he, you must therefore go and bring more." The  
same person went again, but he narrowly escaped  
being taken, and got back with great difficulty,  
having been wounded.

It would appear that Brutus had still some remains  
of hope. He imagined that the number of the slain  
was not so very considerable on his side. Statilius,  
whom we have already mentioned on the occasion of  
Cato's death, offered to go and make the discovery,  
and in case the camp was entire, he promised to hold

\* Ο δὲ πρῶτος ἀπερὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὕδατος  
πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν οὐδὲν ἔλαβε, ἀλλὰ ἐπέστρεψε  
καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὅπως ἔστιν ἐκείνην ὥρην.

up

Dio.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

up a light. The light appeared, but they waited a long while in vain for the return of Statilius. "He will certainly return," says Brutus, "if he is alive." But he never did, having been met with by a body of the enemy, who killed him.

According to Appian, Brutus passed not only the whole night, but part of the next day, wholly taken up with the care of gathering together the remains of his scattered forces; and how he saw about four legions of them assembled around him. It was an easy matter to sound these troops, and to know their disposition. Being afraid however to do it himself, he charged their officers to propose to them, to make an effort to get back again to their camp, and to drive out the enemy from it. The soldiers being discouraged, answered bluntly, that they thought they had done their duty to Brutus, and that nothing remained for them, but to make peace with their enemies on the best terms they could.

Plutarch makes not the least mention of this attempt, and relates the death of Brutus as happening the same night after the battle, which account I shall follow.

Statilius not returning, Brutus judged very right that he was killed; and being positively determined to die himself, he bended a little, still sitting upon the ground, towards one of his slaves, called Clitus, and whispered something to him. The slave kept silence, and answered him only with tears. Brutus then called to him Dardanus, his equerry, who giving him no more satisfaction than the slave, he addressed himself to Volumnius, and speaking to him in Greek, he put him in mind of the maxims of the Stoics upon voluntary death, and the firm courage with which he ought to be provided for such a conjuncture. He then entreated him to help him to hold the sword, that he might plunge it in the more forcibly. Volumnius, and all who were present, refused to render him so melancholy a piece of service. And in order to divert it, one of the company told them, that they must

must not stay in that place where they were, and that it was most advisable for them to fly. "Yes," replied Brutus briskly, "'tis necessary to fly; but it must be with the assistance of the hands, and not of the feet."

He raised himself up in pronouncing these words, and stretching out his hand to each of them, with a serene countenance, he told them, "That it gave him great joy to find that his friends were all faithful to him, and that if he complained of fortune, it was only with regard to his country. That as to his own person, he looked upon himself as more happy than the conquerors, not only with regard to his former situation, but even at that very juncture, because he left behind him a glory of virtue, which neither their power, nor their arms, could possibly procure to them. That, on the contrary, all posterity would judge them to be unjust, who had ruined those who had the best right; and wicked, for oppressing good men, in order to usurp an unlawful and tyrannical power." He finished by exhorting and beseeching them to think of securing their lives.

He then retired to a little distance, accompanied only by two or three persons, one of whom was Strato Egeates, who used to direct him in the exercises of eloquence. This Grecian Brutus depended upon, to assist in dispatching him. Egeates however expressed a great deal of reluctance in taking upon him so shocking an office. But when he saw that Brutus had recourse to one of his slaves, "If you are absolutely determined," said he, "I can never suffer that you should find more assistance in a slave than a friend." He then laid fast hold of the handle of the sword, and turning away his face, he kept it firm. Brutus, raising his left arm above his head, seized with his right hand the point of the sword, and having placed it at the left breast, opposite the part where the pulsation of the heart is felt, he pushed himself strongly upon it, and died immediately.

Others



A. R. 719.  
Ant. C.  
62.

Others say that Strato was only a witness of this bloody scene, and that Brutus, holding the sword with his own hand, stabbed himself by falling upon it. But he had no need of assistance to die in this manner; and, besides, Plutarch has given us an unexceptionable proof that Strato was more than a spectator on this occasion. For he relates, that some years afterwards, Messalla, when he was reconciled with Octavius, and in the first rank amongst his friends, presented to him that orator, saying to him, with tears in his eyes, "Cæsar, behold him who rendered to my dear Brutus the last deplorable service."

When the body of Brutus was brought to Antony, he called to mind his brother Caius, who had been killed by that general's order, and reproached his memory with it. However, he rather chose to lay the fault upon Hortensius, who had been charged with the execution of the order, and caused him to be killed as a victim due to his vengeance. With regard to Brutus, he ordered the last honours to be paid to him, and gave a very magnificent and costly military robe, to cover his body with. He even punished rigorously the avarice and infidelity of the freedman, to whom he had committed the care of the funeral, and who, tempted by the richness of the robe, secreted it, instead of burning it with the body. When Antony was informed of it, he caused him to be put to death. The ashes of Brutus were put into an urn, and sent to Rome, to his mother Servilia. The head had been severed from the trunk, before the funeral.

Suet. Aug.  
23. & Dio.  
Vel. ii. 72.

Octavius, far less generous than Antony, was delighted, and as it were devoted to satisfy the manes of Cæsar, by placing at the foot of his statue in Rome, the head of his murderer; but it was lost at sea, in the passage from Dyrrachium to Italy. Brutus was only in the thirty-seventh year of his age when he died.

To finish all that belongs to the history of Brutus, it remains that I give an account of the death of Porcia, his wife, which is related in a very tragical manner.

# ÆMILIUS H. MUNATIUS, Consul.

49

ner. They say that this heroine, being informed of the melancholy fate of her husband, resolved not to survive him. And that, as his friends, and the people in the house, kept her constantly in their sight, and took care to keep all sharp instruments out of her way, she put live coals into her mouth, and shutting it close, suffocated herself. This story, tho' supported by the authorities of Nicholaus Damascenus, Valerius Maximus, and Dio, may nevertheless be only fabulous, and credited from that taste which men have for the marvellous; for Plutarch quotes a letter of Brutus, in which he complains of the negligence of his friends with regard to Porcia, who having been seized with a languishing illness, formed a resolution to die, without their offering to hinder her. It is true, this historian seems to question the authenticity of that letter; but among the letters which we have of Cicero to Brutus, there is one, the subject of which has much embarrassed interpreters, and which evidently appears to be a \* letter of consolation on the death of Porcia. Thus it is very probable that Porcia was dead before Brutus.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

Plut. Brut.  
Val. Max.  
IV. 6.

Cic. ad  
Brut. 1. 9.

History has preserved to us the names of some illustrious persons, who perished either in the battle of Philippi itself, or in consequence of that memorable engagement. Besides the son of Cato, the brother of Cassius, Labeo, and Hortensius, whom I have already mentioned, I find Varro and Lucullus, according to Valerius Maximus, killed by order of Antony; and after whom, Volumnius, his friend, desired to be put to death, repenting for having engaged in so unfortunate a party. Quintilius Varus caused one of his freedmen to kill him, after putting on the ornaments of his dignity. But there was none of them all whose case was more singular, or more proper to point out the uncertainty and caprice of human affairs, than Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, who was very soon after married to Octavius, and whose

Vell. II.  
71. &  
Val. Max.  
IV. 7.

\* This is the opinion of Dr. Middleton in his life of Cicero.

A.R. 710. son, Tiberius, was afterwards raised to be emperor.  
 Ant. C. This same Drusus killed himself in his tent, to avoid  
 42. falling into the hands of him who was going to be his  
 son-in-law.

But he would not have obtained any quarter of him; for Octavius, who had but a small share in the victory, was extremely insolent with regard to the vanquished. He caused to be put to death, without mercy, all those of distinguished rank amongst the prisoners, even loading them with insults and bitterest reproaches. To one of them, who had desired him to allow his body to be buried, he told, that the vultures and beasts of prey should be his grave. A father and son beseeched him to grant them their lives, but he ordered them to cast lots, and had the inhumanity to feast his eyes with the cruel sight: when, refusing to accept of so barbarous a favour, the father delivered himself up to the assassins, and the son killed himself. This unheard-of cruelty of his, turned the hearts of all people against him; and when the prisoners, loaded with chains, were brought before the vanquishers, all of them, and particularly Favonius, heartily reproached him; while they saluted Antony with respect, calling him General.

If we enquire into the cause of this difference of conduct between Octavius and Antony, I believe we shall find no difficulty in accounting for it. Octavius was cruel out of principle, and wanting to arrive at the sovereign power, he paved the way for it by destroying all those who might possibly preserve the Republican spirit of liberty. Wherefore, as soon as his wishes were accomplished, and he thought there was no more need of cruelty, he became the most humane of all princes. Antony, who studied humanity more, and politicks less, followed the inclinations of a heart naturally inclined to generosity, and from which passion alone sometimes biassed it.

With Brutus perished, properly speaking, the Republican party. For those weak efforts which the remains of the armies, both by sea and land, which acknowledged



## ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consuls.

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A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

acknowledged them for their chief, afterwards made, an only be compared to the last convulsions of a dying man. With regard to Sextus Pompeius, who discovered true signs of life, he ought not to be considered as a Republican, but as one whose chief care, as well as the Triumviri, was to satisfy his ambition.

Of the remains of the army vanquished at Philippi, there was assembled a body of about fourteen thousand men, who offered the command to Messalla. Though he was very young, his reputation was great, and next to Brutus and Cassius, he made the greatest figure in that party. He gave a proof of his wisdom, in not striving injudiciously against fortune. For in concert with him, whose birth and rank made him in manner his colleague, that is to say, with Bibulus, son-in-law of Brutus, he made use of that authority which these unfortunate troops invested him with, to determine them to submit to the conquerors, who received them very willingly, and divided them amongst their legions.

I ought to mention here an expression of Messalla Plut. Brut. to Octavius, though it happened several years after. The judicious and faithful Messalla attached himself to Octavius, and served him very honestly in the war against Antony. Octavius testifying his acknowledgments to him with some surprise, that after he had been so warm an enemy to him at Philippi, he should give such shining proofs of his attachment to him at Actium: "Be not surprised at that," replied Messalla, "you have always seen me on the best side of the question." An expression equally bold and obliging, and further, strictly true in every circumstance. The cause of Brutus was certainly more just than that of the Triumviri. Between Octavius and Antony, justice was not in the question. But it is certain that the good of the Empire required that Octavius should be conqueror.

I return to what followed upon the battle of Philippi. The forts about Philippi, with the troops which possessed them, together with the magazines

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

of the islands of Thasos, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and all the riches which were found in those different places, as well as in the camps of Brutus and Cassius, became the prey of the soldiers.

A squadron commanded by Cassius of Parma, which came from Asia, and did not arrive till after the battle, with provisions and troops for the Republican army, was soon augmented by the junction of some other small fleets, which, after Brutus's defeat, were scattered up and down, without knowing what to do. It was likewise strengthened by a great number of officers and soldiers who escaped from the battle. The son of Cicero, and some other persons of distinction, having escaped from Thasos, went likewise on board this squadron, which, by means of those several additions, became a considerable fleet. In this condition they sailed to the Ionian sea, and ranked themselves under the command of the admirals Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

There they held a great council of war, the business of which was, what resolution ought to be taken with regard to the shattered remains of a power, which a little before was very formidable. In spite of the defeat at Philippi, the two commanders were equally averse to court the friendship of the Triumviri, who appeared to them, and not without reason, deserving their hatred. But though they readily agreed upon what they ought to avoid, they were nevertheless divided in relation to what course was proper for them to follow. Murcus, who had more solid judgment and less vanity, saw that it was not possible for them by themselves to resist the Triumviri, and was of opinion, that they ought to join Sextus Pompeius, and thereby form the whole enemies of the Triumviri into one body. Domitius, who was proud, courageous, and haughty, jealous of the rights of liberty, and probably of the quality of chief of the party, could no more prevail upon himself to obey Sextus, than he could submit to Antony and Octavius. That ambition which his rank and birth inspired him with, would

not

not allow him to submit to any of those, whom he looked upon as no more than his equals. He proposed then to defend the Republick with all the forces which remained, and maintain themselves independent till the last moment, which alone was worthy of Romans.

Murcus and Domitius not only maintained their several opinions very warmly, but they put them in execution. Murcus, with those who were willing to follow him, passed into Sicily, and carried with him a great augmentation of force to Sextus Pompeius. Domitius was obstinate in keeping the sea as a commander, till he was at last obliged to submit to Antony, as we shall see in its proper place.

I must beg leave to propose here, to the lovers of letters, a thought of my own concerning that famous allegory of Horace, which has been so differently explained, and has relation to that circumstance which I have just mentioned. There the poet represents the Republican party, after the battle of Philippi, under the image of a shattered vessel, which is destitute of resource, and which must certainly perish, were it to strike again upon the same shelves upon which it was before shipwrecked. All the parts of this allegory are perfectly explained in the above circumstance.

Horace  
Ode I. 14.

Horace took, upon this occasion, that resolution which he advised others to. I have said, that upon finishing his studies at Athens, he had been taken care of by Brutus, and made a legionary Tribune. He was in this \* station at the battle of Philippi, where he made no great figure as to his courage; for he fled, and threw down his buckler, which embarrassed him. But if he did not lose his life, he lost all his goods, and the little fortune he had, which was confiscated to the vanquishers. We owe to the melancholy situation which he was in at that time, those beautiful pieces of poetry, which have been either the

\* Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam  
Sensi, relicta non bene parmula.

HOR. Od. II. 7.



A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

admiration of, or afforded an useful amusement to, men of letters of all ages. It is possible enough, he might never have cultivated that happy talent which he had received from nature, had not necessity forced him to it. He has taken care to inform us of this himself: "I \* saved myself, says he, at the battle of Philippi, very much reduced, like a bird whose wings are cut, and robbed of my house and the place of my nativity: In this distress, bold poverty forced me to make verses." He had no reason to complain of the Muses; and the favours of Mæcenas, which he gained by his poetry, restored to him, with sufficient usury, all that he had lost,

\* Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi  
Decisæ humilem pennis, inopemque paterni  
Et laris & fundi, Paupertas impulit audax  
Ut versus facerem.

Ep. II. 22.

THE

# THE ROMAN HISTORY.

## BOOK THE FIFTIETH.

**T**HE Perusian war. The origin of Antony's love for Cleopatra. A treaty between the Triumviri and Sextus Pompeius. Victories gained by Ventidius over the Parthians. The war between Octavius and Sextus renewed. An. Rom. 710—715.

### SECT. I.

*The Triumvirate becomes triumphant. The Republican party is destroyed. Antony and Octavius make a new division of the provinces between them, to the prejudice of Lepidus. Octavius returns into Italy, and takes upon him the distribution of the lands promised to the Veterans. The advantage which he found in this function. The immense number of those whom he had to recompense. The indisposition of Octavius at Brundisium. The origin of the Perusian war. The vain character of L. Antonius. The opposite interests of the soldiers, and the possessors of those lands which were appointed for them. The avarice and insolence of the soldiers.*

diers. A third interest interser'd, viz. that of Antony. The secret motive which animated Fulvia against Octavius. The fruitless attempts of Octavius to shun a war. His artfulness and constancy. The difference between the forces of Octavius's party, and of that of Lucius. The beginning of the war. Lucius is besieged in Perusia by Octavius. A famine in Perusia. Lucius goes himself to find Octavius, in order to surrender at discretion. Good expressions of Octavius, who nevertheless orders bloody executions. The town of Perusia is reduced to ashes by an unforeseen accident. Lucius's party is absolutely destroyed in Italy. The flight of Ti. Nero, the husband of Livia, and father of the emperor Tiberius. The flight and death of Fulvia. Julia, the mother of Antony, escapes to Sicily, where Sextus Pompeius obliges her to pass into Greece. Lucius is sent into Spain, with the title of Proconsul. Antony's mild and popular conduct in Greece. The luxuries of Asia plunge him into debauchery. Rejoicings in one part, and mourning in the other, in Asia. The simplicity and gentleness of Antony's character, the cause both of good and evil effects. The origin of his passion for Cleopatra. The magnificent and gallant entry of that Princess into Tarsus, where Antony was. The mutual entertainments between Cleopatra and Antony. The charms of Cleopatra's mind were more seducing than those of her beauty. She subdues Antony. She makes use of her power over Antony to confirm to herself the possession of Egypt. She returns to Alexandria, and Antony presently follows her. The childish amusements and extravagant expences of Antony.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

**B**Y the victory at \* Philippi the Triumviri became triumphant. There remained almost none of the Republican forces, and Sextus Pompeius, on all accounts an enemy to Cæsar's faction, possessing Sicily only, was no formidable enemy to those, who

\* Bruto & Cassio cæsis nulla jam publica arma. Tac, An. l. 2.



law all the rest of the Roman empire submit to their authority.

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.

According to the terms of that treaty which was the basis of the triumviral league, the three associated generals were to share equally the fruits of their victory; but the faith of treaties is very little regarded among ambitious persons. Octavius and Antony, who had all the troops under their command, agreed together to spoil the feeble Lepidus. They accused him of having kept a correspondence with Sextus Pompeius in their absence, and under this pretence, but really upon account of his being without support, as well as without genius, they agreed to appropriate his provinces to themselves; only allowing him, as from a kind of commiseration, Africa, properly so called, provided he was not found blameable.

42.  
Dio. l.  
xlviii.  
Appian.  
Civil. l. v.

Octavius, who was not very favourably treated at the first division of the provinces, took care to make amends for himself in this. He took to himself Spain and Numidia, and even detached from Antony's lot Cisalpine Gaul, not to add it to his own, but in order that it might be incorporated with Italy, according to Cæsar's ancient plan, and that it might no longer be regarded as a Roman province. Octavius's system was not to part with Italy, but to establish his authority there upon a lasting footing. Thus it was not agreeable to his views that any other general should have a right to keep his legions on this side the Alps. They had experienced in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, and afterwards in that between Decimus and Antony, of what importance the government of Cisalpine Gaul was, to keep Rome in awe. Antony's share then only comprehended all Gaul on the other side the Alps, with that part of Africa which Cornificius possessed, But that which seemed to give the superiority to Antony, was the commission which he took to go and establish the triumviral power in the East. That is to say, to take possession of those vast and opulent countries, where there was

no

A. R. 710. no fear of resistance, after the defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius.

Ant. C. 42. Plin. vii. 47. Plut. Ant. Octavius was very sensible how much he was hurt here, but necessity obliged him to make large allowances to a colleague who was, at that time, his superior. The victory of Philippi belonged properly to Antony. The whole army attributed the honour of it to him; and by the glory of that action he quite eclipsed Octavius, who had but very little share in it.

It may be said however of that artful politician, that he only yielded to Antony the appearance, and retained to himself the real advantage. He returned into Italy, and charged himself with establishing in colonies the veterans, to whom they were bound to pay the reward of their services. From this he drew a double advantage. In the first place, in case of a rupture, he had Rome and Italy on his side, and he could give authority to his cause by the names of the Senate and Roman people, which was a great advantage in a civil war. Besides, the soldiers were to receive their rewards immediately from his hands. He must then become the direct object of their gratitude and attachment, and it was only by reflexion that Antony could possibly enjoy any share in it.

Appian.

Dio.

Plut. Ant.

The number of those whom he had to recompence was very great. Antony, in a speech which he made to the deputies of the East, as Appian testifies, makes them amount to more than one hundred and seventy thousand. To such a prodigious number of veterans, Octavius was to assign houses and lands in Italy, over and above a gift of twenty thousand sesterces each. The money necessary for this distribution was not ready. Antony however took upon him to raise it by taxes, which he would lay on the provinces of the East. For this reason, he marched into Asia with six legions, and ten thousand horse. After he had made some stay in Greece, Octavius brought the rest of the troops back to Italy.

ÆMILIUS II. MUNATIUS, Consuls.

59

A. R. 7101

Ant. C.

42.

The separation of these two generals obliges me likewise to divide the account I am to give of them. We shall therefore leave Antony for a while, and confine ourselves to Octavius, who had work enough on his hands from the commission he had undertaken.

The first thing which happened to him was his being taken very ill; and in this illness he had almost lost his life. He had not been well cured of the disease he was attacked with when he went from Macedonia. He had always been in a languishing condition, and too much hurried with affairs to have time to take care of his health, so that he had nearly died at Brundisium. There was a report spread of his death, which occasioned a good deal of trouble at Rome. Several had conceived hopes, and formed projects of a change. Others, on the contrary, imagined that his disease was only a feint; and that the report was published on purpose to sound the sentiments of the citizens, and to have an opportunity of repeating the violences and horrors of the proscriptions. So great a fermentation in the spirits of the people, made the presence of Octavius necessary in Rome. He therefore set out as soon as he was able to bear the fatigue of the journey, sending before him letters, which he wrote to the Senate, to calm their fears, by the promises of a mild and moderate conduct.

It was hardly possible for him to make good a promise of this kind, considering the odious operation which he had to go through, and the trouble he was going to occasion all over Italy, by driving from their houses and lands the lawful possessors, in order to establish soldiers in their room. Another great obstacle to his tranquillity was L. Antonius, the brother of Antony, and present Consul, a man less vicious perhaps than turbulent, and whose proper character seems to have been levity, want of consideration, and vanity.

This



A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
42.

This last failing has been already taken notice of in this history, by those statues which he had caused to be made for him, and by the vain inscriptions, where the order of the Roman Knights and the thirty-five tribes acknowledged him for their Patron. A very extravagant and unheard-of title \*; as if the thirty-five tribes, that is to say, the Roman people, the vanquishers and masters of the world, could have need of a patron, or bestow that title upon one of their citizens.

Fig. An-  
nal.  
Dio.

In consequence of the same vanity, he was charmed with honouring himself, that very same year, with the Censorship and a triumph; but he was a Censor without office, and had a triumph without merit. He was Censor with P. Sulpicius, and made out no roll which properly belonged to this office. As to his triumph, he demanded it in virtue of the pretended exploits against the mountaineers of the Alps. But what he did was extremely trifling, and he even had not the command in chief, which was always an essential condition of a triumph. Besides all this, he would never have obtained it, without the assistance of Fulvia, his sister-in-law. This bold woman, in absence of Antony her husband, and Octavius her son-in-law, exercised in Rome the triumviral authority, which Lepidus did not know how to make use of. She granted her protection to L. Antonius, in order to obtain a triumph, on account of that respect, or rather obedience, by which he recommended himself to her in the administration of his Consulship. He triumphed the same day that he entered into office with P. Servilius Isauricus, that is to say, the first of January.

\* Populi Romani igitur est patronus L. Antonius!—Non modò hic latro, quem clientem habere nemo velit; sed quis unquam tantis opibus, tantis rebus gestis fuit, qui se Populi Romani victoris dominique omnium gentium tutorem dicere auderet? Crc. Phil. vi. 12.

## ANTONIUS, SERVILIUS II. Consuls.

61

L. ANTONIUS.

A. R. 711.

P. SERVILIUS Vatia Isauricus II.

Ant. C.

41.

After the ceremony of the triumph, L. Antonius came to hold the Senate. In order to this, he put off the ornaments of the triumpher, when he took occasion to compare himself very cruelly to Marius, who also had occasion to put off the triumphal robe, in order to preside in the Senate as Consul. Lucius observed a difference between him and Marius, wherein he had the advantage; which was, that Marius was obliged to be put in mind not to mix the military pomp of triumph with the pacific office of President of the Senate; whereas, with respect to himself, his modesty was purely voluntary, and required no hint. Another thing still in which he gave himself the preference to the vanquisher of Jugurtha and the Cimbri, was the great number of statues he saw erected to his glory, whereas Marius had scarcely one. We may easily conceive by this what a vain man L. Antonius was, and what an easy matter it was for a haughty absolute woman, such as Fulvia, to govern a man of that character. Thus it was commonly said that Fulvia triumphed, and enjoyed the consular power.

Octavius however was not of that stamp as to allow her to usurp such an authority over him. In consequence of which there soon happened a division between them, which encreased to an open war. The occasion of it was the distribution of the lands promised to the soldiers, which she exclaimed against.

The execution of this was in itself as difficult as it was unjust. The proprietors, whom they drove from their estates, complained bitterly. They came in flocks to Rome, with their wives and children, crying aloud, and demanding what crime they had committed; and why, as they were born in Italy, members of the Empire and the Republick, they were treated as vanquished enemies. Complaints so just exasperated all the people; and those who were capable of  
viewing

Appian.  
Dio.

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
41.

viewing things in a political light, were sensible besides that these lands, distributed to the soldiers, confirmed the power to their general, became fetters to enslave the state for ever, and destroyed all hope of ever seeing liberty again re-established. Besides, they had made a choice of the best towns of Italy; for this calamity was not common to all of them, but fell precisely upon the most beautiful, and those whom the best lands belonged to. By this means the soldiers were better recompensed, and this the Triumviri had a particular eye upon. But an odious-enough distinction gave a new force to the murmurs and indignation of those who were the subjects of it. In short, some of the most powerful Citizens and Senators found themselves included in the disgrace, on account of the situation of the lands which they possessed. The credit of those augmented the weight of their complaints. It was not possible for Octavius to keep up to the rigour with them, and he was obliged to abate, at least in some measure, so evident and tyrannical an injustice. One exception granted, necessarily introduced others. Sometimes he was obliged to yield to the force of recommendations, and poverty itself spoke for those who had lost all their subsistence in losing their little heritage.

Virgil.  
Ecl. ix. &  
ibi Serv.

On the other hand, the avaricious soldiers looked upon every thing as taken from them, which was left to the proprietors. Not content with the share which was allotted them, they violently took possession of the lands of their neighbours. Virgil was a famous example of this. His little estate having been exempted from the common law, by the favour which he found with Octavius, the Centurion Arius, who was settled in his neighbourhood, wanted to enlarge his boundaries; upon which he quarrelled with him, and Virgil run a risk of being killed by that brutal officer, if a speedy flight had not saved his life, and preserved to the Latin Muses him who was to become their principal glory.

Octavius



## ANTONIUS, SERVILIUS II. Consuls.

63

Octavius himself had a great deal to fear from the discontent of his soldiers. Their insolence was excessive, and proportioned to the need which they understood he had of them. He saw himself exposed more than once to the danger of becoming a victim to their fury, and his happy escape from it, especially in that commotion which I am going to give an account of, was owing to his dexterity, in joining to a firm courage, that indulgence which the circumstances of the times required.

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
41.

He had appointed them to assemble in the Campus Martius, where they were to receive his orders, with regard to the distribution of the lands which had been promised them. They assembled very early, even before day-light; and as Octavius made them wait, they began to mutiny. A Centurion, called Nonius, had the boldness to represent to them, that they wanted respect for their general, and excused his slowness as an effect of his bad state of health, and not of any want of regard for them. Those who heard him called him a flatterer, mixing railleries with their invectives. The quarrel encreased; they soon came to threatenings, and Nonius seeing himself attacked by a number of furious people, found no other resource left than to throw himself into the Tiber, in order to swim over it. But the seditious soldiers followed him, pulled him out of the water, killed him, and exposed his body in the street where Octavius was to pass.

Upon hearing of this, the friends of Octavius advised him not to trust himself to such mad people, who were capable of carrying things to the greatest excess. But he was sensible that he must be ruined for ever, provided he drew back upon so critical an occasion. He resolved then to face the danger, how great soever it was, avoiding in the mean while, to encrease the evil by too haughty a conduct, which in such a conjuncture would have been very imprudent. Upon arriving at the Campus Martius, he saw the body of Nonius, and turned aside from it. Afterwards,

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
41.

wards, being mounted upon his tribunal, he complained very modestly of the murder of that officer. He imputed it only to a few of those who heard him, and exhorted them to use more moderation with regard to one another, and mutually to spare the lives of each other. After this short speech, he executed what he had promised, as if nothing had happened to give him any uneasiness. He distributed the lands, assigning to each corps their lot and district. He even bestowed military gifts on those who deserved them, and upon some who deserved them not; and all this with a gentleness and dignity which not only calmed the mutineers, but filled them with admiration. Ashamed and confounded at their own insolence, and sensible that they deserved a different treatment, they wanted to give proofs of their repentance for what they had done, by offering to Octavius, to discover those who had killed Nonius, and bring them to him, in order that justice might be executed upon them. But he pushed his indulgence to the very last, telling them that he knew very well those who were culpable, but he thought they would be sufficiently punished by the reproaches of their own consciences, and the condemnation which their companions pronounced against them. This last artful expression gained their hearts effectually, and they all strove who should praise him most, and testify to him their satisfaction by repeated acclamations.

It may now be easily conceived into what strange perplexity, and what a labyrinth of difficulties and dangers the opposite interests of the proprietors of lands, and an infinite number of military people, accustomed to give laws to their Chiefs instead of obeying them, must throw Octavius. To encrease the trouble and confusion, a third interest interfered, viz. that of Antony. Lucius his brother, and Fulvia his wife, were very sensible that Octavius, by taking upon him entirely the distribution of the rewards, must engross to himself all the merit of it. In order to remedy this inconveniency, they demanded Octavius

ius to divide the charge of establishing the veterans in colonies, so that he might regulate whatever concerned his own soldiers, and they those of Antony. Octavius alledged in opposition to this, the authority of the convention made with his colleague, whereby it was stipulated, that the direction of this whole affair should be left entirely to him. This reason might prove the justness of Octavius's pretensions, but was not sufficient to appease the fears of Lucius and Fulvia; and besides, this last had a secret motive which rendered her implacable towards Octavius.

She had been informed that Antony, whose inclination to debauchery she very well knew, entertained publicly in the East, Glaphyra, the wife of Archelaus, grand Pontiff of Comanes. She wanted to revenge herself, by means of Octavius, on the infidelity of her husband, without being shocked at the horror of the incest; for he whom she solicited so impudently, was her son-in-law. The young Triumvir rejected the advances of that impudent and imperious woman; and even sent her daughter back to her, assuring her that she was a virgin. This double affront exasperated Fulvia beyond all measure, and she gave herself no rest till she had excited a war, by which she proposed, at the same time, to satisfy her resentment against Octavius, and to force Antony from his new amours, by obliging him to return to Italy.

Octavius had great reason to fear a war in the circumstances he was in; for besides those difficulties which I have already mentioned, the bare name of Antony, who was at that time much extolled for the glory of his exploits, and the reputation he had of joining clemency and generosity with his bravery, was a great obstacle to Octavius's success. He therefore did not neglect to inform them, that he agreed in every respect with his colleague, and that Lucius and Fulvia acted without the orders, and even contrary to the intentions of Antony. But it was very natural to think that a party, at the head of which appeared the



A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
41.

brother and wife of Antony, must certainly be his, and this impression continued upon people's minds. Besides, a faction so much esteemed, had of itself a very great force. I find in Italy, at the time we are now speaking of, six or seven chiefs, and as many armies, which acknowledged Antony's authority. The chief of these, for the most part men of merit and skilful in war, were Ventidius, Pollio, Calenus, and Plancus. In short, that which added most to the troubles and dangers of Octavius, was the famine which arose in Italy, on the one hand, uncultivated and laid waste by the expulsion of the old proprietors; and on the other, deprived of the assistance which it used to receive from abroad, and harrassed with incursions both by Sextus Pompeius and Domitius Ahenobarbus. The famine began already to be felt in Rome, and there to occasion popular insurrections.

Influenced by so many united motives, Octavius thought himself bound to try every expedient in order to shun a war. He granted to Lucius and Fulvia that which they demanded, and consented that they should preside at the distribution of the rewards which belonged to Antony's soldiers. This was all they could pretend to with any colour of reason. But Fulvia wanted to be revenged; in which she was very well seconded by Manius, who had the care of Antony's affairs in Italy during his absence, and was a very bold and intriguing man. These two heads governed Lucius.

It was resolved in council to labour to unite the possessors of lands and the soldiers against Octavius. Thus Lucius and Fulvia, instead of continuing, as they had begun, to give establishments to Antony's soldiers, received on one hand the complaints of those who were driven out of their possessions, thereby making a shew of protecting the oppressed; and on the other, they published, that the confiscated goods of the proscribed, and of those who had been declared enemies to the Publick, were sufficient to pay off the rewards

rewards promised the soldiers ; to which they added, as a supplement in case of need, the money which Antony was then raising in Asia.

A. R. 711:  
Ant. C.  
41.

There could be nothing more specious than those allegations. Octavius, far from having those immense sums to dispose of, found his finances run so short, that he was obliged to break upon the treasures of the most revered temples of Italy, and even those of the Capitol ; engaging himself however to restore them afterwards. And with regard to Antony, the most profuse of all mankind, it would be only deceiving themselves to expect money from him. Mean while, those speeches of Lucius and Fulvia, authorized by the name of Antony, were greedily swallowed by the possessors of lands, who found themselves thereby agreeably flattered ; and the soldiers themselves, provided they were to lose nothing by it, preferred that kind of reward which was less odious and tyrannical.

I do not know if ever there was a situation more delicate and critical than that which Octavius was in at that time. It were greatly to be wished, that we were acquainted with the motives of his policy upon that occasion, explained by some able hand. But such writers as Appian and Dio give us only bare accounts, frequently ill ranged, loaded with useless details, wanting necessary materials, and always void of life and spirit. The idea which I have formed of the conduct of Octavius from the idea given of him by these authors, is as follows.

Firm in his principles, and steady in his views, he very well understood that his power, which was founded upon arms, could only be supported by them. Thus he placed all his hopes on his army, and tho' he felt the justness of the complaints of those whom they had spoiled of their inheritances, he did not at all hearken to them, and contented himself with granting some gentle mitigations. As to the rest, he followed steadily his plan, of putting the soldiers in possession of those lands which had been promised to

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
41.

them. This system was the only one which was truly advantageous to the troops, and consequently the only one capable of attaching to him inviolably his own soldiers, and bringing back to him, sooner or later, those of Antony, whom they made to act contrary to their proper interest.

His business then was to point out to them the illusion with which they were abused. In order to this, there was nothing more proper, than to propose an explication with his adversaries, to enter into a negotiation with them, and to take the soldiers themselves as arbiters. This Octavius did; and what made it still more easy for him was, that Lucius's vanity had made him attack the Triumvirate, and undertake to re-establish the Consular government. But he was neither disinterested enough, nor had he parts or judgment sufficient to execute such a project. But he did himself honour by it; advanced that his brother consented to it; and that since Octavius and Lepidus were obstinate in opposing the good of the Republic, they ought to suffer the punishment of those crimes which they had committed in the exercise of their office.

If these notions of Lucius could have taken place, none would have suffered so much by it as the veterans, whose whole fortunes and establishments had no other basis and support than the triumviral power. Octavius put the finishing stroke to gain them over to his interest, by submitting his dispute with Lucius to their arbitration. A number of veterans, with the deputies of some of the legions, assembled in the Capitol; and from thence they signified to Lucius, that he must make his complaints to them, and agree to their decision, unless he chose to have them for his enemies. The same was signified to Octavius, who readily submitted to it.

Lucius at that time possessed Preneste, having left Rome, where he saw his adversary had the chief power. He assembled troops, always attended by Fulvia, and governed by the influences of that audacious woman.

Though



## ANTONIUS, SERVILIUS II. Consuls.

69

Though the order which was intimated to them from the army, displeased them very much, yet they durst not refuse to obey; and Lucius promised to go to Gabii, a place situated almost at an equal distance between Rome and Preneste, and made choice of on this account, for a trial so extraordinary in all its circumstances.

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
41.

Octavius rendered himself first at the rendezvous, and immediately detached some of his people to reconnoitre the country, in order to see that there was no ambush laid for him. It is very likely that his intention was what actually happened; for his scouts meeting those which went before Lucius, quarrelled with them, engaged them, and killed some of them. Lucius, frightened at this event, turned back immediately, and it was not possible to persuade him to present himself before the new military tribunal, tho' the principal officers offered to guard and escort him. This obstinate refusal turned the minds of the veterans against him; and as they remembered besides, that Lucius and Fulvia spoke of them with contempt, calling them the Spatterdash Senate\*, they declared themselves loudly for Octavius, and took up arms in his favour.

Octavius saw himself then very well supported, having on his side, besides his own proper troops, all that multitude of veterans, which was still more formidable by their valour and experience, than by their numbers. Lucius on his side appeared to oppose him with considerable forces, but he had only a precarious authority over the greatest part of them, excepting six legions, which were personally attached to him, because most part of the soldiers who composed them had been raised among the people of Italy, whose cause he defended. As to the rest, he was served but very superficially by the lieutenants and armies of his brother in Italy. They could not easily

\* Senatum caligatum. The word Caliga signifies the hose of the common soldiers.

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
41.

persuade themselves that Antony would approve of a war against his colleague. Besides, the equality between the different chiefs of these armies, rendered them rivals to each other, and divided them. On the other hand, all the forces of Octavius, as well those which he commanded in person, as those under the orders of Agrippa and Salvidienus, united by a common attachment to one supreme chief, concurred in the operations of the war, with a harmony extremely advantageous to gain success.

Thus he commenced this war with a superiority, which was not counterbalanced by any uncertainty. Only Lucius took the advantage at first of his absence to re-enter Rome. Octavius was gone to Umbria, with a design to seize a body of troops, commanded by Furnius, one of Antony's lieutenants, and had charged Lepidus to guard the city with two legions. Lucius, whose projects against the Triumviri had gained him the affections of the most illustrious Senators, and who besides had to do with such a contemptible adversary as Lepidus, presented himself before the city. He defeated the Triumviri, who went out to meet him, entered Rome, called immediately an assembly of the people, whom he harangued in the military robes, contrary to the constant custom practised before him; and a few days after he returned back, carrying with him the reward of his expedition, the acclamations of the people, and the decree of the Senate: feeble arms against an enemy so powerful and alert as Octavius. He, upon receiving the news that Lucius was master of Rome, made all the haste he possibly could to relieve it; but on his arrival there, he found that he was gone. He took measures to hinder this capital from being surprized for the future, and from thence went to Perusia, where Lucius was already besieged by Salvidienus. The manner in which things were carried to such a length by them was as follows.

Salvidienus, at the head of a good army, came from Cisalpine Gaul to join Octavius his general, and

was

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was pursued by Ventidius and Pollio, Antony's lieutenants. Lucius undertook to go before Salvidienus, to enclose him between two armies. But Agrippa, who knew his design, marched immediately after, with a design to enclose Lucius between him and Salvidienus. Lucius understood the danger he was in, and changing his scheme, he wanted at first to reunite himself to his brother lieutenants. But finding the difficulty and risk in that, he took a resolution, dictated very probably by timidity and inexperience, to retire under the walls of Perusia, a very strong town, there to wait in security for Ventidius and Pollio. They, who, as I have said, entered into Lucius's projects with reluctance, made no great haste to succour him. On the contrary, Octavius's lieutenants, active and ardent to serve their chief, followed Lucius very close, and began to surround him with lines and trenches. Octavius himself made haste to come up to them, for he would not allow his enemy to escape, who was imprudently shut up in a place which he could not get out of. He resolved to finish the war at one blow, by taking Perusia and Lucius together. He assembled all the forces he had for this decisive enterprize, and ordered all the troops which were under his command, in the different parts of Italy, to come up.

The siege was long and troublesome. The besieged defended themselves vigorously, and the succours which they called to their assistance, gave a good deal of disquiet to the besiegers. Lucius made them press all his brother's lieutenants to relieve him; and Fulvia joined to the solicitations of Lucius, all the activity of her hatred against Octavius. She was at Preneste, with a number of Senators and Roman Knights, and some bodies of troops assembled about her person. There she governed with an absolute authority, presiding in council at one time, and at another, haranguing the soldiers with a sword by her side.



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Appian.

She spared nothing in order to save Lucius; for which end, she made Ventidius, Pollio, and Plancus exert themselves; and if she could have communicated to them her vivacity and spirit, they would possibly have given Octavius a great deal of trouble. He was obliged to leave the siege, and to march with Agrippa, in order to hinder the junction of the three chiefs and their armies, in which he succeeded. At his approach, Plancus retired to Spoletum, Ventidius to Ravenna, and Pollio to Rimini. Octavius sent troops against each of them, to keep them in awe, while he returned himself to press the siege of Perusia, as briskly as possible.

Lucius made a great many sallies, but all without success. Antony's three lieutenants, whom I have just now mentioned, found means of re-joining their forces; but being stopt by Agrippa and Salvidienus, who marched in order to meet them, they durst not attempt to assist Lucius. Mean while, the courage of the besieged supported them under all their defeats, and they would certainly have made a very long resistance, if famine had not rendered their valour useless. As they had by no means expected a siege in Perusia, they had consequently made no provisions against it. By this means a very great scarcity presently arose, in which they took all those precautions even contrary to humanity, which are used in the like circumstances. They not only measured out to each person his quantity of provisions, but refused giving any to the slaves, hindering them at the same time from going out of the town. Thus these miserable wretches died in the streets, and they threw their bodies into wells and deep ditches, lest they should infect the air with their corruption, or, in case they burnt them, lest the great number of fires should inform the besiegers of the vast multitude of those who perished, and the great misery which they suffered in the place. In short, they were obliged to yield to necessity, which has no law; and Lucius having sent some of his principal officers to capitulate with

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with the vanquisher, and they not bringing back a satisfactory answer, he resolved to go and find Octavius himself, to endeavour to engage his honour by a frank and generous surrender, which might move him to clemency.

If we believe Appian's account of this affair, Lucius spoke and acted like a hero. But I find no other writer describe him so much to advantage, and some of them give him a very bad character. Cicero, in his Philippics, treats him with the greatest contempt. Velleius \* assures us, that he had all the vices of his brother, but did not resemble him in any of his virtues. I therefore continue to have the same opinion of him which I have hitherto expressed; and though it is difficult to deny facts so circumstantial as those related by Appian, we may be allowed at least to believe, that the vanity of Lucius, and the confidence which he had that the brother of Antony would be spared by Octavius, constituted all his heroism on this occasion.

He went out of the town and advanced towards the camp of the besiegers, without taking any other precaution, than sending word to Octavius that he was coming to wait upon him. Octavius went to meet him as soon as possible, and there was a struggle betwixt them who should behave with the greatest complaisance. Lucius proposed to enter within the trenches, so that he might put himself entirely in the power of his vanquisher. But Octavius would not allow him, and made haste to go out of his lines, in order that he who demanded peace, might do it freely, and without constraint.

The speech Appian puts into the mouth of Lucius on this occasion, expresses a noble greatness of soul. By it, that unfortunate Chief appeared to be in no pain to justify himself, and was only troubled for those who had attached themselves to him. He

\* Vitiorum fratris sui confors, sed virtutum, quæ interdum in illo erant, expers. VELL. ii. 74.

reckoned

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reckoned it a great honour to have attempted to abolish the Triumvirate, and to re-establish the Republican government, in prejudice even of his own brother, if he had not found it altogether as equitable to drop that scheme for the good of his country. He gave a full discharge to all those who had followed him, telling them that he had deceived them, in that he had represented things to them in a false light, concluding with offering to deliver himself to the revenge of Octavius, provided his innocent followers might be spared.

Octavius affected generosity in his turn. "You disarm me," says he to Lucius, "by the nobleness and frankness of your manner of acting. If you had pretended to capitulate with me, I should then have been at liberty to use the right of a conqueror. But by submitting your fortune, together with those of your friends and soldiers, to my discretion, you oblige me to consider what is worthy of myself, and not what you deserve; and your cause cannot prosper better, than by being assistant in promoting my glory."

These were fine words: but I do not see that in reality the clemency of Octavius went beyond the bounds which policy dictated. He treated Lucius honourably; because he was too much afraid of Antony to use his brother ill. He inflicted no punishment upon the soldiers, neither the veterans nor others; because his own troops would have taken it amiss. But as for the people of quality, the Roman Senators or Knights, whose attachment to the liberty of the ancient government he feared might continue, he gave them no quarter. If any of them went to ask pardon of him, or to excuse themselves, he answered them barbarously, "You must die." The acknowledgment which he owed to the services that Canutius \* had formerly done him against Antony,

Suet. Aug.  
35.

\* I follow Appian and Dio. According to Velleius ii. 64. Canutius had been one of the first victims of the Triumvirate's proscription.



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when he was Tribune of the people, could not save the life of that ancient servant and friend, who to be sure was too zealous a Republican. In short, they even relate, that out of the number of those who fell under his power upon this occasion, he chose three hundred of the most distinguished to be sacrificed as victims the day of the Ides of March, at the foot of an altar erected in honour of Cæsar. It is true, he pretended that he was forced to perform those acts of vengeance, by the clamours of his soldiers. But it was he himself who excited them under-hand, and nobody was imposed upon by this apparent artifice, Octavius alone remaining charged with the odium of so horrid a butchery. To such inhuman lengths a man of this character is capable of carrying things; artful and deceitful, regarding nothing but himself, insensible to friendship, favour, and pity. He shewed himself here bloody without passion, as he became afterwards beneficent without humanity.

With regard to the city of Perugia, Octavius followed still the same maxim of destroying the heads, sparing the multitude. The Senators of this unfortunate city were all put to death, excepting one only, who had been one of the judges of Brutus and Cassius at Rome, and distinguished himself by his zeal in condemning them. Octavius's scheme in granting their lives to the rest of the citizens, was to deliver the town to be plundered, as a recompence for the soldiers. But an accident, which he could not foresee, determined the affair otherwise. Cestius, one of the principal inhabitants of Perugia, a man of an unsound head, resolved, out of a foolish despair, to set fire to his house, and throw himself into the flames, after having first stabbed himself. As the wind happened to be high, the fire communicated itself to the neighbouring houses, and spreading itself gradually, consumed the whole town.

Octavius foresaw that the taking of Lucius would put an end to the war. After this decisive blow, all Antony's lieutenants thought of nothing but flying as fast

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Ant. C.  
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Sen. de  
Clem. i. 11.  
Suet. Dio.

Vel. ii. 74.  
Appian.

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Ant. C.  
41.

Vell. ii. 73.  
Suet. Tib.  
4.

fast as they could out of Italy. Some of them passed into Greece and the East, to join themselves with their general, whilst others sought a nearer retreat in Sicily, under the protection of Sextus Pompeius. Amongst the last, the singularity of the adventure renders Tiberius Nero, husband to Livia, and father of the emperor Tiberius, the most remarkable. He was constantly attached to the Republican party after the death of Cæsar, and had served Lucius zealously, as the only and last resource of liberty. During the siege of Perugia, he was in Campania, appointed to keep the country in subjection to Lucius. After the victory of Octavius, he strove still to make some resistance himself; and in order to augment his forces, he went so far as to offer liberty to the slaves who should follow him. Surprised at the diligence of Octavius, who marched towards him, he took the resolution of saving himself in Sicily. This was not to be done without some difficulty. He carried with him his wife, and his son Tiberius, who was not then full two years of age, and still at the breast. Being obliged to conceal his march, in order to escape those who were searching for him, he was twice afraid of being discovered by the cries of the child, which one day was to be successor to him whose vengeance was at that time so terrible to his whole family.

Appian.

Thus all Italy acknowledged the authority of Octavius. However, there still remained on the side of the Alps an army consisting of several legions, under the command of Calenus, who dying at that juncture, Octavius very easily brought over to him those legions which had lost their commander. Fusius, a son of him who was lately dead, gave them himself up to Octavius.

Plut. Ant.

It may easily be judged what confusion and rage Fulvia must be in, when she saw all her projects disappointed, all her efforts rendered useless, and him whom she hated escape victorious and triumphant from all the snares which she had laid for him. She went into Greece to conceal her shame and malice, and wrote

wrote very melancholy letters to Antony, who was then at Alexandria, already enchanted, as we shall presently see, with the seducing charms of Cleopatra. He came to her, and having learned that the principal cause of the war of Perusia was the jealousy and intriguing spirit of Fulvia, he used her very roughly, and departing for Italy, he left her ill at Cicyon, where she died with grief very soon after.

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Her death, which was occasioned by a spiteful rage, corresponds perfectly well with the conduct of her whole life; and what we have related of her, discovers what a just picture Plutarch has drawn of her, when he says, that \* she was not a woman made to confine herself to her distaff, and to manage a family. It was not sufficient for her even to govern a husband who was of the common rank; she must have one who commanded others to obey her, and the general of an army to acknowledge her for his chief. Thus Cleopatra was very much obliged to Fulvia, of whom Antony had learned to be governed by a woman. She received him from the hands of a high-spirited wife, quite formed to the yoke, and accustomed to bear it of a long time. Fulvia had for her first husband Clodius, who was killed by Milo; after him Curio, who perished in Africa; and her third husband was Antony.

Julia, Antony's mother, a lady of a very different character from Fulvia, and still more respectable on account of her virtue, and her rank and high birth; thought it was not proper to stay in Italy after her son's party was destroyed; and though she had certainly nothing to fear from Octavius, she chose rather to trust herself to Sextus Pompeius, and pass into Sicily. Sextus received her very honourably, and gave her an escort of several vessels to conduct her into Greece.

\* 'Ου τελαστὴν, ἐδ' οἰκεῖαν φρονεῖν γυναῖκα, ἐδ' ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ κρατὺν ἀξίαν, ἀλλ' ἀρχοντὶ ἀρχεῖν, καὶ στρατηγῷ τῷ στρατηγεῖν βεβημένον ὥς τε Κλεοπάτραν διδοῦσαν καλὰ Φιλία τῆς Ἀντωνίας γυναικοκρατίας ὀφείλειν, πάντα χειροκρῖν καὶ επιπαιδαγυῖν μένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι γυναῖκα παραλαβεῖσθαι αὐτὴν. PLUT. ANT.



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Octavius kept Lucius with him for some time under a good guard, which passed however as a retinue, that attended him out of respect. But he presently found himself embarrassed with such a prisoner in Italy, and therefore he sent him into Spain, with the title of Proconsul, but without any real authority. All the power was lodged in the hands of his lieutenants Sex. Peduceus and Carrinas, who were to be answerable to Octavius for his person and conduct. After this time history makes no more mention of Lucius Antonius.

The taking of Perugia, and the consequences of it abovementioned, come under the year when Domitius Calvinus was Consul for the second time, together with Pollio. But before we finish the account of the events of this year, we must return to the preceding, and follow Antony in his journies in Greece and the East, after the battle of Philippi.

Plut. Ant. His conduct in Greece gained him entirely the affections of all people. He was pleased to hear himself called a lover of the Grecians, and especially of the Athenians. He decided debates, and ruled affairs with equity and gentleness. His amusements had also something of popularity in them; and the Grecians were charmed to see him assist at their shews, hear the lectures of their men of letters and philosophers, and initiate himself in their mysteries.

Asia, whither he went the first favourable season, made him quite another person, or rather awaked in him all the vices to which he was inclined. The riches and pleasures of this delightful country, a numerous court of kings, who worshipped him servilely, and of queens, who strove who should please him the most; in a word, all the allurements of pleasure and grandeur united together, intoxicated his reason, and plunged him again into those debauches, which business and dangers had for some time suspended. He abandoned himself more than ever to the pleasures of feasting, and to companions ill becoming a person of so high a rank. He was constantly surrounded with

musicians,

musicians, dancers, players, and all sorts of men whose business it is to enervate and corrupt the manners. Asia furnished him with persons of that stamp, still more able, and better versed in this pernicious art, than those who had followed him from Italy. They engrossed his whole affection, and governed his court. Avaricious as well as profligate, they took advantage of his prodigality to consume immense sums, which were raised from the people by the most rigorous methods. A player on the flute, named Anaxenor, was charged with the gathering the tribute of four cities, having soldiers under him to execute his orders; and a cook having succeeded in pleasing Antony's taste at a feast, received as a reward the house and goods of a rich citizen of Magnesia.

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Strabo. l.  
xiv.

Plut.

Hence it happened, that Asia at the same time rung with the noise and preparations of the most magnificent and extravagant feasts in one part, and groans and lamentations in the other. When he made his entry into Ephesus, the women dressed themselves like Bacchanals, and the men and children like Satyrs and Fawns, and in this odd dress they gambolled before him. The town was filled with festoons of ivy and thyrses, and with concerts, vocal and instrumental, singing the praises of Antony, whom they called a new Bacchus, beneficent and gracious. He shewed himself really such with regard to some of them, but the greatest part found him rough, cruel, and severe. He took away the estates from people of distinction, to bestow them upon his meanest servants and flatterers. They asked and obtained of him the spoil of persons alive, which they passed upon him for dead. In short, he demanded of the people of Asia double the tribute which Brutus and Cassius had imposed upon them.

Upon this last article Hybreas, one of the most famous Orators of that time, made representations to him in the name of all Asia, of which Plutarch has preserved to us an ingenious specimen, and in the taste of that brilliant and popular eloquence, which

was

A. R. 711. was extremely pleasing to Antony. "If you will  
 Ant. C. "take from us," says he, "two tributes in one year,  
 41. "you must give us two springs and two autumns in  
 "the same period of time." Upon another occasion  
 the same orator spoke to him very boldly, and cut  
 him to the quick. After two hundred thousand ta-  
 lents furnished by Asia, Antony demanded still new  
 contributions. Hybreas had the courage to say to  
 him on this subject; "If you have not received that  
 "which we have given, make those who have the  
 "management of your finances give an account of it;  
 "but if you have received it, and already consumed  
 "it, we are infallibly ruined."

This expression of Hybreas made a strong impres-  
 sion upon Antony, who was ignorant, for the most  
 part, of things that passed, less out of negligence, as  
 Plutarch imagines, than out of a simplicity of cha-  
 racter, which made him trust too much to those who  
 were about him. For he was mild and of an open  
 behaviour; and if he was not quick in observing those  
 grievances, and acts of injustice, which were au-  
 thorized by his name, at least when he was informed  
 of them, he regretted them sincerely, and owned  
 them frankly, even to the sufferers themselves. Re-  
 compensing very liberally, and punishing with ri-  
 gour, he exceeded the bounds of moderation more in  
 the distribution of favours, than in the inflicting of  
 punishments. We must not be surprised then, that  
 many of those who had carried arms against him,  
 having taken courage to implore his clemency during  
 his stay in Asia, received the good effects of it; and,  
 among others, the brother of Cassius. If there were  
 any to whom he would not grant a pardon, it was in  
 cases very unfavourable; especially he thought him-  
 self obliged not to spare any of those who had had a  
 hand in the conspiracy against Cæsar. On the con-  
 trary, those towns or nations whose attachment to the  
 memory of that great man, and those who avenged  
 his death, had brought upon them rigorous usage  
 from Brutus and Cassius, received acknowledgments  
 from



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Jof Ant.  
xiv. 22. &  
23.

from Antony, and were loaded with his favours. Among this number were the Rhodians, the Lycians, the towns of Xanthus, Tarsus, and Laodicea in Syria; and in short, the state of the Jews, which Herod and Phasael, sons of Antipater of Idumea, governed at that time, under the name of Hircania. Herod found an avowed protector in Antony, by whom he was supported against all his enemies; in consequence of which he engaged himself heartily in his interest, and continued faithful to him, as we shall see afterwards, even to the last extremity.

Antony's good-nature and easiness of temper, were carried in private conversation to an indecent familiarity. He loved to joke with those whom he admitted to his parties of pleasure, and allowed them the same liberties which he took himself; being no less pleased to see himself the object of laughter, than to laugh at the expence of others; upon which Plutarch makes an observation, which appears to me very judicious, and at the same time very ingenious. He \* alledges that that licence of raillery, which Antony allowed to those who were about him, hurt his affairs very much; for not imagining that those who used such freedoms with him in their pleasantries, would flatter him when they spoke seriously, he easily became a dupe to their praises. He was ignorant that able courtiers know how to mix freedom with flattery, as an agreeable seasoning, which prevents satiety; and that by the boldness of their prating, when they are merry in company, they so order it, that their approbation and plianthness does not seem at all to be the effect of complaisance, but of that conviction and submission which they cannot refuse to superior geniusses.

\* Τὸ το δαυμῆνα το πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων. τὰς γὰρ ἐν τῷ παίζειν παρήγοριαι· αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις κατακίουν αὐτὸν, ἡλικίῳ βεβαίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίδων· οὕτως οὖν τὴν παρήγοριαν τινὲς ὡς ὑπόθετον ἔδωκεν τῇ κατακίῳ παραμυθίῃς, φέρει τὸ πλῆθος, τῷ σαρὰ τὴν κύλικα δραστήτις ἢ λαλῶν δι-μηνχανάμενος τὴν ἐν τῶν πραγμάτων ἴσασιν ἢ συμβαλῶσιν, μὴ ὡς χαρὴν ὁμιλίῳν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονήσει αὐτῶν, φαίνεται.

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Such a man was Antony, and in this manner he laid the foundation of his ruin. This was rendered inevitable by his passion for Cleopatra, which roused and brought to light a great many vices which were before concealed, and, if I may use the expression, lay asleep, as it were, at the bottom of his soul; and banished every thing good that remained in him. The manner in which he fell into the snare of that Egyptian enchantress was as follows.

Plin.  
Appian.

I have already observed, that Serapion had furnished some succours to Cassius from the island of Cyprus. It seems there were some reasons for rendering the Queen of Egypt responsible for the conduct of the governor of an island which depended upon that crown. It was doubtless on this account that Antony, when he was preparing to march against the Parthians, who had made an irruption into Syria, sent orders to Cleopatra to come to him, to clear herself of a reproach of having favoured his enemies. Her cause was very good, for it is very probable that Serapion did not act by her orders, nor even acknowledge her authority. And, with regard to herself, she had given proofs of her attachment to Caesar's party, by the succours she had sent to Dolabella, as I have already mentioned, and by a fleet put to sea to assist the Triumviri in the war against Brutus and Cassius. But she did not stand in need of any apology.

Plut.

Dellius, who was charged to bring her into Cilicia, no sooner saw her than he was convinced that tempting a woman had nothing to fear from Antony; and that, on the contrary, by her beauty, gracefulness, and especially by her address and engaging behaviour, she must certainly obtain a very great influence over him. Thus instead of assuming any authority over her, he studied to make his court to her, and advised her not in the least to fear Antony, who was the most good-natured and humane of all men of that kind.

Cleopatra

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Cleopatra, encouraged by what Delliüs had told her, and still more by the experience which she had had of the power of her \* charms over the eldest son of Pompey, and likewise over Cæsar, promised the more chearfully to submit to Antony. For at the time of these first intrigues she was very young, and quite unexperienced in affairs; whereas she was now in the twenty-seventh year of her age, and consequently in the stage of life when the charms of the body and the talents of the mind are the most brilliant. She prepared then rich presents for Antony and his friends; and took with her large sums of money, and the most precious jewels. In a word, she supplied herself with whatever the wealth of a great and powerful kingdom could furnish her; but placing her chief hopes on herself, and the bewitching charms which she had but too great a share of, she set out with an entire confidence; and though she received upon the road a great many couriers, and repeated orders to make haste, she did not in the least hurry herself on their account, and seemed to have so little regard to the Roman general, that, accused as she was, she made the most magnificent and gallant entry that can possibly be imagined into Tarsus, where Antony was at that time.

The city of Tarsus was divided by the river Cydnus; which, two or three leagues below, discharged itself into the sea. It was by this river that Cleopatra chose to enter. She was seated in a barge, the stern of which was covered with gold, the sails of purple, large and floating in the wind, and the oars of silver, which kept time to the sound of flutes and guitars. She herself lay reclined on a heaven, spangled with stars of gold, with such ornaments as the poets and painters give to Venus. On each side were young

\* Appian says, that Antony was already in love with Cleopatra, when he went into Egypt with Gabinius, in order to re-establish Ptolemy Auletus. But this is hardly probable, because Cleopatra was at that time only thirteen years old, an age very improper for raising that passion.



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41.

children, such as they paint the loves, who fanned her with handkerchiefs. The most beautiful of her women, dressed like Nereids and Graces, were placed, some at the helm, and others about the cordage. And upon the banks of the river they burnt the most exquisite perfumes. Such a magnificent appearance drew a prodigious crowd together. Some from the mouth of the river accompanied the barge, others flocked out of the town to meet them, so that the place where Antony gave audience was deserted, and he left alone seated upon his Tribunal. They thought of nothing but going to see Venus, as they said, who was come to visit the new Bacchus, and render all Asia happy.

When Cleopatra was arrived, Antony sent to invite her to supper. She answered, that she rather wished to have the honour of receiving him as her guest; and the general, not willing to begin with a refusal, and valuing himself upon being polite and obliging, promised to wait upon her. The entertainment was magnificent, and the apartment decorated in the most elegant manner. But what struck Antony most, was the number and fine disposition of the lights, which were almost without number, but very orderly disposed, forming designs and representations of different figures; here disposed in squares, and there in circles; so that they had a charming effect, and afforded a delightful entertainment to the eye.

Athen.  
iv. 11.

According to an antient writer, quoted by Athenus, Cleopatra added large gifts to that elegance and pomp. She repeated her entertainment several times, and always in a new taste, and with new ornaments, giving Antony each time all the equipage of the feast, that is to say, all the vessels of gold adorned with precious stones, with which the side-boards were ornamented, and the tapestry, and cloths of purple embroidered with gold, which served to decorate the apartment. To his friends, a great number of which he took with him, since there were twelve tables surrounded

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rounded with three couches each, and therefore must amount to one hundred and eight persons at least; I say, to all that great number of guests, she made very rich presents. Upon them she bestowed the couches on which they had supped, and the vessels of gold in which they had been served. When they retired, she made presents to the most distinguished amongst them, of litters, with people to carry them; to others, she presented horses, very richly harnessed; and to all of them, young Ethiopian slaves, to carry torches before them. The author abovementioned likewise relates, that at the third entertainment which Cleopatra gave to Antony, she made them strew with roses all the floor of the hall a cubit thick.

Antony treated her in his turn, and attempted to surpass her in magnificence and taste; but not being able to succeed, and falling far short of her's in every respect, he was the first that turned into raillery the rustick simplicity of his equipage, compared to that of Cleopatra. Plut.

The artful Egyptian immediately entered into the humour of him whom she wanted to gain; and having observed that Antony's pleasantries were not very delicate, but in the military strain, she entertained him in his own way; and with a free, easy air, full of assurance, diverted him in such a manner, as to shew herself no more delicate than he.

It was by this dexterity, and the charms of her wit, that she was sure to please, for her beauty was by no means extraordinary, or capable of making conquests. But nothing could be more engaging, or enchanting, than the charms of her conversation, which carried with them always an almost inevitable seducement. The very tone of her voice had a delightful sweetness; and Plutarch compares her tongue to an instrument of many strings, with melodies diversified a thousand different ways. For whereas her predecessors, rendered quite stupid with indolence and pleasure, could not even speak the Egyptian language,

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and some of them had forgot their own Macedonian dialect; Cleopatra gave audience to all the neighbouring nations, without the help of an interpreter. Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, Ethiopians and Troglodytes, had all the satisfaction to hear her speak their own language, as free and easy as they could do themselves.

Antony was not made to resist such powerful charms; he did not so much as attempt to arm himself against them. On the contrary, he yielded himself up to them with all his soul. From the judge, he became the conquest and slave of Cleopatra; and that artful princess, who knew how to excite love, without suffering herself from that passion, began to make use of that sway which she had gained over Antony, by causing him to confirm to her the free and peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt.

Josep. xv.  
4. &  
Appian.

Very soon after the death of Cæsar, she had taken care, as I said before, to get rid of her brother, who enjoyed the throne with her. But Arsinoe, her sister, was still alive; and though she was obliged to shut herself up in the temple of \* Diana at Ephesus, and to owe her safety entirely to that sanctuary, yet she still gave her umbrage. Cleopatra therefore obtained an order from Antony to take Arsinoe by force out of the temple, and to put her to death. Even the priest of Diana, who paid honours and respect to that unfortunate princess, ran a great risk of his life, if the Ephesians, by their most humble supplications, had not appeased the wrath of the queen of Egypt. The sacred rights of an inviolable sanctuary were no more regarded with respect to Serapion, than they had been with regard to Arsinoe, whose interests I am afraid he had espoused. He was taken out of the temple of Hercules, at Tyre, and delivered to Cleopatra, who found by his death her vengeance satisfied, and at the same time, a justification towards Antony for the suc-

\* Appian calls it the temple of Diana Leucefrini, at Miletum. The difference is not material.



cours sent to Cassius. In short, she obliged the inhabitants of a small island of Syria, named Aradus, to deliver up to her a young man, who pretended to be the eldest brother of Cleopatra, formerly vanquished by Cæsar, and happily escaped from the battle, according to the story which he told; though the common report made him pass for dead.

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Cleopatra having thus obtained of Antony all that she desired, set out to return to Egypt, leaving in the heart of the Roman general a sting, which would soon make him follow her. In short, instead of marching, according to his first design, against the Parthians who assembled their forces in Mesopotamia, he contented himself with marching through Syria, and deciding hastily those affairs which were referred to him; and, after having tried without success, to insult and plunder the town of Palmyra, he sent his forces into winter-quarters, appointed Decidius Saxa to command them in his absence, and presently flew to where his heart called him, I mean to Alexandria.

Plut. &  
Appian.

There amusing himself idly, like a thoughtless boy, who minds nothing else but pleasure, he lost and squandered away in trifling amusements, the most precious of all enjoyments, which is time. He formed a society of pretended "Members of the Inimitable Life," which was the title they took, and the rule was to entertain one another with profusions which surpass all belief. I shall insert one instance, which will help us to form an idea of it.

Lamprias, Plutarch's grandfather, was told by the physician Philotas, who was young at that time, and happened to be at Alexandria to learn his profession, that having made an acquaintance with one of the chief persons in Antony's kitchen, he was invited by him to come and see the preparations for one of these suppers. He went then into the kitchens, and was surprized to find, besides a very great quantity of other meat, eight wild boars upon the spit. He thence concluded that the company must be very numerous. "Not at all," said his friend, laughing at his

A. R. 711. his surprise, "there will not be above twelve at table.  
 Ant. C. "But every thing must be roasted to a turn, for a  
 41. "moment more or less is capable of spoiling it.  
 "Now it may happen that Antony may call for sup-  
 "per immediately, or in a short time, or perhaps he  
 "may defer it a good while, being amused with wine  
 "or some agreeable subject of conversation. On this  
 "account we must not make ready one supper alone,  
 "but several, because it is impossible for us to guess  
 "the moment he will sup."

Philotas told him another story of a different nature, but which equally proves the prodigality of Antony. He said, that being engaged in making his court to the eldest of Antony's sons by Fulvia, he was sometimes admitted to his table with other Greeks; as the young gentleman did not eat with his father, being only a child. At one of these repasts, among the rest of the guests, there happened to be a physician, who fatigued the whole company with his learned nonsense. Philotas silenced him by a sophism, which he desired him to resolve. "There is," says he, "a certain fever in which it is proper to give cold water to the patient. Every fever is a certain fever; therefore in every fever you ought to give cold water to the patient." The prating doctor must have forgot his syllogistic rules, not to discover, at first, the fallacy of this syllogism. However it was, he had nothing to answer, but remained quite confounded. This little adventure was extremely pleasing to young Antony, who laughed very heartily at it, and wanting to recompence him, whom he was so well pleased with; "Philotas," said he, "I will give you all that you see before you;" shewing him a side-board covered with vessels of gold. Philotas testified his gratitude, and returned him a great many thanks; but was far from thinking that a child of that age would be allowed to make a present of such importance. Mean while, upon taking his leave, an officer brought him all the plate enclosed in a bag, and asked him to put his seal upon the mouth of the bag,

bag, that nothing might be taken out of it. Philotas started back surprised, and refused to take a present of so great a value. "You are very simple, sir," replied the officer; "you do not know then, that Antony's son can make more considerable presents than that you are surprized at. However, if I may offer you my advice, you will take money instead of the plate, because there is some of them antique, and very curiously wrought, which Antony may possibly call for again." It is plain enough that so extraordinary a profusion committed to his son, who was but a child, must be owing to the father. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by a false appearance of bounty and generosity; this is not to give, but to squander away.

During Antony's first stay at Alexandria, Cleopatra had the address to captivate him entirely. She made use of every method that could be thought of to flatter him. Whether he was engaged in amusements, or serious affairs, she always contrived some new pleasure to divert him, never leaving him night nor day. For she constantly kept him company at games, at table, and in his parties of hunting. If he was employed in any military exercise, she assisted at it, at least as a spectator. She followed him even in the town, when he went disguised during the night, in order to divert himself by standing at the doors and windows, talking facetiously to the people who were within; for Antony had a taste for these kinds of low diversions, which people of distinction are sometimes foolishly fond of, being weary of ordinary and natural pleasures, which pall, by being so frequently repeated. Dressed like a slave, with Cleopatra disguised after the same manner, he spent whole nights in running about the streets of Alexandria, teasing every body that he could find to talk to, striving to put them out of humour by scurrilous jests, and was always repaid with repartees, and frequently with blows. He imposed upon every body with it at first; but afterwards, when they knew that he diverted himself in  
this



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this manner, the Alexandrians entered very willingly into the humour of it. They contrived and acted merry scenes on purpose, which likewise diverted themselves, and said, that Antony acted the Tragedian with the Romans, and the Comedian with them.

To give a detail of all the amusements of Antony with Cleopatra, would be unworthy of history. However, the following adventure deserves, I think, to be mentioned, as having a good deal of spirit in it.

Once as he was diverting himself with angling in the Nile, but with very bad success, it was mortifying to him to be disappointed in presence of the queen. He gave orders therefore for some divers to plunge into the water, and fasten a fish, which had been caught before, to his hook. This trick could not be repeated again without Cleopatra's perceiving it. However, she feign'd to be very much surpris'd, and engaged a new party for angling the next day, informing them of the trick which he had made use of. They went thither in great numbers, on board of barges, attentive to what was to happen. Antony, who had no suspicion of being discovered, having thrown his line, the divers, by Cleopatra's order, fastened a salt fish to it. He felt the motion, and, thinking he had hold of his prey, pulled the line out of the water. You may easily judge what mirth this salt fish of Antony's occasioned. Cleopatra, however, made him a very artful compliment upon it. "Sire \*," said she, "yield that diversion to us sovereigns of "Pharos and Canope. As for you, your fish, and "your game, are towns, whole nations, and empires."

\* Παράδωκε ἡμῖν τὸν κάλαμον, αὐτοκράτορ, τοῖς Φαρίταις καὶ Κανωσίταις βασιλεῦσιν· ἡ δὲ σὴ θήρα, πόλεις ἐστὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἥπειροι. PLUT. ANT.

# C O N T E N T S.

91

## S E C T. II.

*The necessity of Antony's affairs calls him into Italy. He is courted by Sextus Pompeius. The power of Sextus. The marriage of Octavius with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, father-in-law of Sextus. Domitius Abencharbus joins his fleet to that of Antony. Antony is refused entrance into Brundisium. He besieges the town. Dispositions for a peace. The negotiation of Cocceius Nerva. A treaty concluded between Octavius and Antony, by Mæcenas, Pollio, and Cocceius. Antony's marriage with Octavia. A small triumph decreed to the two generals. Salvidienus is condemned for his treachery to Octavius, and kills himself. Canidius and Balbus substituted in the Consulship, in the room of Pollio and Domitius. The fortune of Balbus. The triumph of Pollio. His great learning. The triumph of Calvinus. His severity with regard to discipline. Herod declared king of Judea. The Falcidian law. The death of Dejotarus. His commendable qualities. His cruelty to his family. Changes in the Consulship. No more annual Consuls. Confusion and disorder in all the States. Rome and Italy famished by Sextus. An insurrection of the people against the Triumviri. A furious tumult, where Octavius runs a risk of his life, and is delivered by Antony. A feast given by Octavius; a new subject of complaint. Octavius consents to a negotiation with Sextus. Sextus yields to it, contrary to his inclinations. A conference between the three generals. Conditions of the treaty. The extreme joy which this peace occasioned. The three chiefs entertain one another by turns. An expression of Sextus to Antony. A remarkable instance of his generosity, in rejecting the advice of Menas. Antony is out of humour at losing all kinds of games against Octavius. He leaves Italy, and arrives at Athens. His popular behaviour with the Athenians. They treat him as a new Bacchus. The dowry he demands of them for his marriage with Minerva.*

CN. DOMITIUS

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CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II.

C. ASINIUS POLLIO.

**W**HILE Antony was entirely engaged in those childish diversions, and fallen into a kind of lethargy with regard to affairs, he was roused from his indolence and negligence, by two very disagreeable pieces of news. He was informed on the one hand, of the troubles of Italy and the Perusian war; and on the other, of the entry of Labienus into Syria, at the head of an army of Parthians. This irruption of Labienus, of which I shall give an account elsewhere, appeared to him the most pressing. He advanced as far as Tyre, with a design of repelling the Parthians; but letters which he had received from Fulvia, half blotted out with her tears, called him towards the West. He arrived in Greece, and being informed of what had passed in Italy, he was in a great passion with Fulvia, as I have already related, and at the same time extremely troubled at the increase of Octavius's power.

Ap. Dio.

In those circumstances he was pleased to find himself courted by Sextus Pompeius. He had formerly been obliged to him for having given refuge to his mother Julia; and his interest being joined to this motive of honour, he gave a very kind reception to Libo; who, under pretence of bringing back his mother, came to propose to him a treaty of friendship and alliance with Sextus his son-in-law. Antony, however, conducted himself very prudently, and thought that he ought not to break with Octavius abruptly; but he promised to Libo, that if he should be obliged to make war against Octavius, he would accept Sextus's proposal; and that if, on the contrary, their differences should be amicably determined, he would certainly take care to reconcile him with his colleague.

Sextus at this time had a great deal of sway. Placed between the two Chiefs of the victorious party,

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## DOMITIUS II. ASINIUS, Consuls.

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It was a kind of triumph for him to make himself be considered by Antony, and feared by Octavius. His power had increased considerably during the time that the war against Brutus and Cassius employed all the forces of the avengers of Cæsar's death. He made himself entire master of Sicily, of which he possessed only a part at first; and had put to death Bithynicus, governor of that island, whom he accused of having plotted against his life. Statius Murcus, after the battle of Philippi, had brought to him, as I said before, a powerful reinforcement. He had also subdued Sardinia; so that with a very numerous and warlike fleet, he was master of the whole sea between Italy and Africa. This situation was exceeding favourable, and he became extremely proud upon it, even so much as to style himself the son of Neptune, as renewing the naval glory of his father, and possessing the hereditary empire of the seas. In the mean time he owed his rise, in a great measure, to fortunate incidents; and he had, by no means, all the qualities which were necessary in order to reap a solid and lasting advantage from it. Velleius \* describes him to us as brave, active, and eager, of a quick imagination, faithful to his engagements, as much as his father had been deficient in that point, but of a rough behaviour, which appeared even in his speech; allowing himself to be governed by his servants, and, to make use of the historian's expression, the freedman of his freedmen, and the slave of his slaves. He envied those who were above him, and obeyed those below him. In short, those in whom he confided the most, and whom he put at the head of his squadrons and fleets, were men who had been made free, the most famous of whom was Menas †, whom

\* Hic adolescens erat studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer, fide patri dissimilissimus, libertorum suorum libertus, servorumque servus, speciosis invidens ut pareret humillimis. VELL. II. 73.

† I have followed the common and ancient interpretation of that ode of Horace which I have quoted, though an able commentator has

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Horace has immortalized by the emphatical description which he has given of his pride and insolence, an eternal object of indignation and contempt. Statius Murcus, a man of courage, and of a high spirit, could not submit to so shameful a yoke, nor bend to a favourite so lately a slave. This cost him his life. For they accused him of treachery, and under that pretence he was put to death.

Such a man was Sextus Pompeius, whose union with Antony, if it had been confirmed, might have become fatal to Octavius. By joining their sea forces, they would have amounted to five hundred sail, and thus it would have been easy for them to have invested Italy, if I may be allowed the expression, and to starve it; and Octavius, powerful in legions, having forty in his service, but quite destitute of vessels, must have seen himself reduced to the greatest extremity, and obliged to submit to them.

He tried to gain Sextus, and in order to pave the way for a reconciliation with him, he contrived to make an alliance with his father-in-law. Mæcenas was charged on the part of the young Triumvir, to demand for him in marriage Scribonia, the sister of Libo; who being charmed at the thoughts of joining to the quality of father-in-law to Sextus, that of brother-in-law to Octavius, very willingly consented to it. The marriage was agreed upon, and Octavius espoused Scribonia, though she was a great deal older than he, and had been already married to two men of Consular dignity, by one of whom she had children. Mean time, the peace could not be concluded; and Octavius seeing himself obliged to make head against Antony and Sextus both at once, began by ridding himself of Lepidus, whom he suspected, and made him be satisfied to depart to his government of Africa

lately attempted to render it doubtful. Some difficulties which he finds in applying to Menas certain circumstances of this little satirical ode, do not appear to me sufficient to prevail over the authority of manuscripts and ancient scholiasts, who point out the freedman of Sextus to be the person here meant.

with

with six legions, which having formerly belonged to Antony, preserved still an attachment for their ancient general. It was also at this time that he sent Lucius, the brother of Antony, into Spain, under pretence of making him Proconsul of that great province.

In the mean time Antony, having departed from the island of Corcyra, at the head of two hundred sail, advanced towards Brundisium. He met in his passage Domitius Ahenobarbus, who came to join him with all his fleet, which was very considerable. Domitius had preserved under his command a great part of the naval forces formerly assembled by Brutus and Cassius; and his first plan was, as I have before-mentioned, to keep himself independent of any party. But very soon finding that scheme to be impracticable, he consented to the proposal which Pollio had made to him, of attaching himself to Antony, and acknowledging him as chief. The agreement was made, but the question was whether it would be kept. When the time of putting it in execution approached, several of Antony's friends apprehended, that, bold as Domitius was, and besides remembering not only his being proscribed, but condemned under the title of one of Cæsar's murderers; either from the motive of pride or fear, he would hardly think it proper to put himself in the power of one of the Triumviri. Plancus especially, who valued himself upon his prudence at the sight of the least danger, pressed Antony not to trust him, but to stop his course, till he was fully assured of the dispositions of Domitius.

But Antony, though he had no more than five vessels with him, with which he advanced before the rest of the fleet, rejected this timorous council, declaring that he chose rather to perish by the perfidy of another, than to save his life at the expence of being branded with timidity. Presently the two admirals gallies approached each other, and Antony's liCTOR, standing on the prow, ordered Domitius's men to strike their flag, which was immediately obeyed.



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Domitius then came to the side of Antony's galley, and went on board. In the mean time the troops saluted the Triumvir as general, and Plancus recovered his fright. Afterwards Antony, with this new reinforcement, went to present himself before Brundisium.

Octavius kept in this town a garrison of five cohorts, the commanding officer of which refused to admit Antony, under pretence that he brought with him Domitius, who had always been an enemy to Cæsar and his party. Antony, offended at this, besieged Brundisium, and invited Sextus to make a descent upon Italy; which was executed. Octavius, on his part, assembled his troops to relieve the besieged town, and prepared to force the lines of Antony.

It was thought at that time that a storm was just at hand, which would renew all the mischiefs which were hardly quieted. Hostilities were really commenced, but very inconsiderable. Among the three Chiefs who entered into this war, the weakest of them only, that is to say, Sextus, had a hearty inclination to it. The two Triumviri were afraid of themselves; and their soldiers, whose power was exorbitant in these troublesome times, and who gave laws even to their generals, were no ways disposed to fight against one another. They looked upon themselves as united by the same cause, and constituting only one body. Besides this general motive, the troops of Octavius had a particular one, from the fear and respect which they bore to Antony, as the author of the victory at Philippi; and those of Antony, on their side, were not pleased with their Chief's uniting his interest with exiles, and proscribed persons. While these things were in agitation, Fulvia, whom her husband had left ill at Cicyon, happening to die, this event opened a way for a pacification. The negotiation was first begun by Cocceius Nerva, a common friend of both the Triumviri; and Appian gives us, upon this subject, an account, which appears to me to be taken from

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from some ancient record, and for this reason deserves to be presented to the reader, at least an abridgment of it.

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Cocceius had been sent the year before to Antony in Phenicia, about some affairs which we are ignorant of, and had remained with him until the time I am now speaking of; when feigning to be recalled by Octavius, he demanded leave of Antony, who granted it. "Will not you give me a letter to Cæsar," says Cocceius, "as I brought one to you?" "No," replied Antony hastily, "I never write to my enemies." Cocceius represented to him, that he ought not to reckon Cæsar his enemy, after the clemency which he shewed at Perugia to his brother Lucius, and the rest of his friends. How! replied Antony, "shall not I call him mine enemy who has refused me entry into Brundisium, and who has taken from me my provinces and my troops? With regard to my friends, if he has used them well, he did not do it to preserve them for me, but to render them mine enemies by his favours." Cocceius did not think it proper to insist any further on the subject, for fear of irritating that impetuous temper in Antony, which he proposed to calm; and contenting himself with having drawn out of him the cause of his complaints, he returned to Octavius.

He pleaded before him the cause of Antony, as he had pleaded before Antony the cause of Octavius. He exposed to the young Triumvir the grievances of his colleague, and justified his alliance which Antony had made with Domitius and Sextus Pompeius, alleging that they were both innocent of the murder of Cæsar, and that they were more unfortunate than culpable, even according to the principles of the victorious party. Observing that these reasons made but little impression, he fortified them by the fear of danger, declaring to him frankly the resolution which Antony had taken to make use of the maritime forces of Sextus, joined to those of his own, in order to lay waste and famish Italy. This last consideration

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struck Octavius; and Cocceius, who observed it spoke to him then upon the death of Fulvia. "That woman," says he, "has been a torch of discord between you, but she is now dead. What hinders you then to make advances to each other, provided you rather chuse to clear up your reciprocal complaints, than to nourish resentment in your hearts?"

Octavius after this becoming very calm, Cocceius proposed to carry a letter for him to Antony, and represented to him, that as he was the youngest, he thought he might very well write first to a colleague, who had so great a superiority to him in age. The point of honour would not allow Octavius to do this; but he contrived an expedient, which was to write a polite letter to Julia, the mother of Antony, complaining, that being his relation, he should have taken the resolution of flying out of Italy, as if she might not expect from him the same tenderness and regard as from her son.

Cocceius, with this letter, returned to Antony, and advised him, in order to take away every obstacle to a peace, to begin by removing Domitius from his person, and sending Sextus back into Sicily. Antony, at first, was very loth to give his consent, especially to that part which regarded Sextus. Because he thought that thereby he would be too much engaged to Octavius, and, consequently, give him too much the advantage. But at last, fearing the valour of Octavius's legions, who, though full of esteem for Antony, were nevertheless determined to make smart war against him, in case he obstinately rejected a peace, he yielded to the instances of Cocceius and his mother, and having sent Domitius to Bithynia, of which he made him governor, he gave Sextus to understand that he had no more need of his services in Italy, promising him in the mean time to take care of his interests.

After these preliminaries, Cæsar's soldiers being satisfied with him, formed a deputation among themselves



selves, which they addressed in common to the two A. R. 712.  
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 generals, signifying to them, that the inclination of  
 the army was for them to make peace. As to the  
 terms of it, the soldiers did not take upon them to  
 discuss them; but they gave full power to a com-  
 mittee composed of three commissaries, Mæcenus en-  
 gaging for Octavius, Pollio for Antony, and Cocceius  
 as a common friend or mediator. These three nego-  
 tiators concluded the treaty under the authority of  
 the army, which acted as the depository of the sove-  
 reignty.

The articles of the treaty were very simple; for-  
 getting what was past; friendship and a good corres-  
 pondence for the future; and a new division of the  
 Roman Empire, the eastern part of which was put  
 under the power of Antony, and the western under  
 that of Octavius. The town of Scodra in Illyria, was  
 the common bounds of these two great divisions.  
 Africa was left to Lepidus, who was always forced  
 to be contented with whatever his colleagues pleased  
 to allot him. Octavius took upon him the war against  
 Sextus Pompeius, in case they could not come to an  
 accommodation with him, and Antony that against  
 the Parthians. It was likewise expressly stipulated,  
 that the two generals should have an equal power of  
 raising troops in Italy. But Octavius preserved to  
 himself always the advantage of never giving up the  
 capital, and seat of the Empire. Domitius was ac-  
 quitted of the condemnation pronounced against him;  
 and the good usage he had received from Antony,  
 was approved of by Octavius. With regard to the  
 Consulship, which was no more than a shadow, but  
 a shadow of some dignity, and capable of taking life  
 again in the hands of persons who knew how to re-  
 animate it, they agreed, that whenever the Triumviri Plut. Ant.  
 did not exercise that office themselves, they should  
 share it amongst their friends. In short, the seal of  
 this reconciliation was Antony's marriage with Oc-  
 tavia, sister to young Cæsar.

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Octavia, who was elder than her brother, was tenderly beloved of him, though she was only his sister by the father's side, by a former marriage. She had been a short time a widow, having lost C. Marcellus her husband. Antony passed for a widower after the death of Fulvia; for as to Cleopatra, though he did not deny his intrigues with her, yet he did not use her on the footing of a wife. All the friends he had, who were sensible and judicious, wished extremely that he would marry Octavia, whose merit was equal to her other charms. They hoped that this lady, who joined to an exquisite beauty, a sedateness of manners, sweetness of conversation, and a great deal of wit, could not fail of being beloved by Antony, when he was her husband, and thereby cure him of his foolish passion for the queen of Egypt, the consequences of which made them tremble. Thus all their wishes uniting in an alliance so agreeable in every respect, the affair was presently concluded, and the marriage immediately celebrated, without even waiting till the time of \* Octavia's mourning was expired. And as this circumstance must have occasioned a stain upon her, according to the Roman customs, the Senate, by an express decree, dispensed with the rigour of the law in this case.

Such was the treaty of Brundisium, which delivered Italy from the fear of a bloody war. The joy of it was so great, that in order to testify it to the two generals, they thought they could do no less than decree them a small triumph.

But before they made their solemn entry into Rome, Antony being still at Brundisium, or near it, saw himself exposed to great danger from Cæsar's old soldiers, who had followed Octavius. They remembered that he promised to send money from the East, to be distributed amongst them; and he might easily have done it, if his luxury and prodigality had not pre-

\* Dion adds, that she was with child, but Plutarch's silence on this subject gives me reason to suspect it.

vented it. The veterans flocked about him, and called upon him to perform his promise. As he was not in a condition to satisfy them, they burst out into reproaches, became very warm, and Antony would certainly have been in very great danger, if Octavius had not engaged in his behalf. In order to avoid any thing of this kind for the future, the veterans were all sent home to their colonies.

The reconciliations of great men are too frequently fatal to their friends. This was experienced on the above occasion, by two of those who had the chief confidence of Octavius and Antony. Manius was delivered up by Octavius to his colleague as the principal author of the Perusian war, in consequence of which Antony put him to death; and, at the same time, by way of compensation, he discovered to Octavius the secret practices of Salvidienus, who at that time commanded an army in Gaul. This man, who was of an obscure birth, had pushed himself, by his talents and ambition, to become one of the principal lieutenants of Octavius, who had even advanced him to the dignity of a Consul, without having the order of a simple knight, a distinction almost quite singular, and which never had been granted, at least in latter times, to any but Pompey. Mean while this high fortune did not satisfy the insatiable ambition of that officer; who, betraying his commander, had offered his service to Antony during the siege of Brundisium. Octavius being informed of this perfidy by Antony himself, ordered Salvidienus to Rome under some certain pretence; and when he had him there in his power, he caused him to be tried by the Senate, who condemned him to death as an enemy to the publick. Salvidienus executed the sentence himself, and prevented the punishment by a voluntary death.

There was a great affair still remaining to be executed by the two Triumviri, which was either to destroy Sextus Pompeius, who harrassed Italy very much, or else to come to an agreement with him. But this would lead me to the following year, and I ought



A. R. 712.  
Ant. C.  
40.

to mention here some facts, which, though they are of no great importance, yet ought not to be neglected.

The change introduced into the government, discovered itself more and more, by the Consuls having but a very small share in publick affairs. Pollio and Domitius Calvinus, who enjoyed this title, which was formerly so great, appeared only as having a second hand at most in all the events of this year. They were even obliged by the Triumviri, after having enjoyed this vain piece of honour for some time, to yield their place to others, whom the Triumviri wanted to please with the same piece of honour. Their successors were L. Cornelius Balbus, and P. Canidius Crassus, the one a friend of Octavius, and the other of Antony. We shall see afterwards Canidius at the head of Antony's forces; and with regard to Balbus, he had been many years attached to the house of the Cæsars. His fortune had something singular enough.

Cic. pro  
Balbo.

He was a Spaniard, born at Cadiz, and having done great service when he was very young, to Metellus Pius and Pompey, in the war against Sextorius, he was made a Roman citizen by Pompey; a privilege which was disputed him in justice, but he maintained the possession of it by the credit of him who had procured it to him, and by the assistance of Cicero's eloquence. His ambition no doubt determined him to attach himself to Cæsar, as a patron, who was capable of advancing him higher than Pompey could do, and by this conduct he did not at all incur the reproach of ingratitude; for Cæsar and Pompey were at that time friends. After the rupture between them, he remained with the strongest party; and by his constant fidelity to Cæsar, and his zeal to serve Octavius, he became so much considered, that though he was a stranger by birth, and adopted a citizen, not without a dispute, he arrived at the Consulship, and was the first example of a sovereign magistrate of Rome born out of Italy. He acquired like-

Vell. II.  
57.  
Plin. VII.  
43.

Dio.

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likewise immense riches; so that when he died he bequeathed to the Roman people no less than twenty-five Denarii a head.

A. R. 712.  
Ant. C.  
40.  
10 s. 5 d.

Pollio, at the expiration of the Consulship, was sent by Antony to make war against the Parthians, people of Illyria, who had shewn a strong attachment to Brutus. He took the town of Salonea, and did other exploits which entitled him to a triumph. But that which secured him an honourable rank among illustrious persons, was that variety of talents which were united in him, in an eminent degree. He excelled in all kinds of eloquence, poetry, and history; and he patronized in others, that taste for those arts, which he cultivated in himself with success. A proof of this was Virgil, whom he maintained in possession of his paternal estate, and introduced to Octavius's friendship. Pollio had great views, and had the honour of being the first who founded a publick library for the use of men of letters. He adorned it with statues of the most learned men of antiquity; Varro was the only living one to whom he did that honour.

Horace  
Od. II. 1.

Plin. VII.  
30. &  
XXXV. 2.

His colleague, Domitius Calvinus, makes a more shining figure in history by his employments and titles, than by his real merit. After his Consulship he went to make war against the Cerritani in Spain, where he acquired the honour of a triumph. His exploits have nothing very remarkable; but he deserves praise with regard to military discipline. A body of troops having allowed themselves to be defeated by the enemy, and shamefully taken flight, Calvinus punished those who were guilty, by decimating a great many companies, without sparing the officers. Some Centurions, and among the rest the first captain of a legion, named Vibulius, suffered the Bastinado, which was an ignominious punishment, and frequently mortal.

Dio.  
Vell. II.  
78.

Under the Consulship of Pollio and Calvinus, Herod was declared, by the Romans, king of Judea. It is surprizing that this title, which had been extinct

Joseph.  
Antiq.  
XIV. 20.  
& de B.

for Jud. I. 11.

A. R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
40.

for so many years, and refused formerly by Pompey to Hyrcan, sprung from a race of kings, should be renewed in favour of a man, who not only did not belong to the royal line, but was even a stranger, and an Idumean by origin. Herod was obliged for this to the war of the Parthians. Those people were actually almost entire masters of Judea. Hyrcan was their prisoner, and they had set up as a king, Antigonus, chief of the branch, in enmity with Hyrcan. In this situation of affairs, Antony thought it would be of service to him, to oppose to the king established by the Parthians, one who was in friendship with the Romans. Herod then, who had come to Rome, to represent the melancholy condition of Judea, and to implore a speedy assistance, obtained more than he demanded. As he knew that the Romans did not usually grant the name of king, but to those who are of the royal progeny, he intended to ask that title for his brother-in-law, brother to the unfortunate Mariamne, grandson of Aristobulus by his father, and of Hyrcan by his mother; while in the mean time, he intended to reserve all the power and functions of royalty to himself. Antony, however, thought it more proper to join the title to the office. Herod was agreeable to him, and to all Cæsar's party, both on account of the services he did them himself, as well as of those of Antipater his father. He was therefore declared king by a decree of the Senate, and the Triumviri added to it tokens of honours of all kinds, an account of which may be seen in the historian Josephus.

Dio.  
Justin.  
Instit.  
l. ii. tit. 21.

A law very famous in the Roman legislature, was passed this year by the Tribune P. Falcidius. It tended to restrain the unbounded liberty of making wills, which the citizens enjoyed, and very frequently abused. It was no rare case, for example, for the Testator to drain the estate by the number and greatness of the legacies, so that there remained hardly any thing for the natural heirs. They had, for a great while, felt the inconveniency of this last abuse, and had



had endeavoured to remedy it, but without success. A. R. 713.  
Falcidius therefore caused a law to be made, ordering Ant. C.  
that the fourth part of the goods of the Testator, 40.  
should absolutely belong to the heirs; and if the sum  
of the legacies exceeded three quarters of the estate,  
it should be lawful for them to take from the legatees  
as much as would make up the quarter due to them.  
This privileged quarter has been called the Falcidium,  
from the Tribune Falcidius.

The old king Dejotarus, whom I have had occa- Dio.  
sion frequently to mention, died at last in a very ad-  
vanced age. He had managed his affairs very well,  
with regard to his political conduct, and his proceed-  
ings with the Romans who were his protectors, or  
rather his masters. Being in friendship with Cicero,  
Cato, and Brutus, in the civil war between Cæsar and  
Pompey, he attached himself to the best party. Ne-  
cessity, however, obliged him to yield to the con-  
queror; but after the death of Cæsar, he shewed to  
the world that neither disgraces, nor even torpid old  
age, had been able to lessen his courage and boldness.  
But he forcibly recovered all that had been taken  
from him by the resentment of the Dictator. Besides,  
he gave assistance to Brutus, the last assertor of the  
Roman liberty. I am sorry that Dejotarus, who had  
so many commendable qualities, should have tarnished  
the glory of them by his domestick cruelties. Strabo, Strabo, I.  
and particularly Plutarch, accuses him of having been XII. Plut.  
the executioner of his whole family. He treated it de Stoic.  
as a vine-dresser treats a vine, cutting off all the Repub.  
branches but one, in order to make that flourish.  
Thus Dejotarus put all his children to death, to raise  
the fortune of him whom he chose to make his heir.  
But authors have not informed us, whether this pro-  
ject, which he pushed by such barbarous means, suc-  
ceeded or not. His successor, in the tetrarchy, is  
called Castor by Dio.

The Consuls were chose for the following year,  
according to the plan agreed on by the two Trium-  
viri; that is to say, out of a number of the friends  
of

A. R. 712. of each of them. Those who began the year were  
 Ant. C. Marcus Censorinus, and Calvisius Sabinus, one of  
 40. whom had been left by Antony to command in Greece  
 during his absence, while he passed into Asia; and  
 we shall see the other at the head of the naval forces  
 of Octavius, against the generals of Sextus Pompeius.

A. R. 713.  
 Ant. C.  
 39.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

Dio.

The authority of the Consulship was very much weakened, and reduced almost to nothing. But at least hitherto they had kept up to the form with regard to the duration of it so far, as that there had been none created Consuls, who were not named to continue to the end of the year; though several of them were obliged, both by the Dictator Cæsar, and by the Triumviri, to resign before that time was expired, in order to leave this honourable title for others, whom they wanted to invest with it. Marcus Censorinus and Calvisius Sabinus were the first Consuls, who, entering upon the office the first of January, were only to continue a certain number of months, at the end of which they were to be relieved by successors, appointed at the same time with them. This practice, which vilified and degraded more and more the Consulship, was followed constantly by the emperors. After this there were no more annual Consuls. Those who began the year, gave in their names, and were called the Ordinary; the others whom they called Substituted, were hardly known but in Rome and Italy. In the provinces they were but little heard of, and for this reason they were called The Little Consuls.

Ordinarii.  
 Suffecti.  
 Minores.

The great number of those, whom the Triumviri had to recompence, was one of the causes which influenced them to multiply the Consulship. The same motive also engaged them to introduce, or allow to come into the Senate, all kinds of unworthy members, even as far as common soldiers and slaves. One Vi-

bis

ius Maximus, appointed Quæstor, was known by his master, who claimed him, and sent him back into slavery. There was also found amongst the legionary soldiers, a slave, who had been thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, after he had been first made free, in order to give more distinction and solemnity to his punishment. In a word, confusion and licentiousness reigned in all ranks, and those who still preserved any sentiments of decency and publick honour, or any taste for the ancient manners, saw nothing on all hands but afflicting objects.

But the thoughts of the people were taken up with a disaster, which affected them more nearly; and this was a famine, which the squadrons of Sextus Pompeius stationed along the coast, occasioned in Rome and Italy. As he was master of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, he interrupted the commerce both of the East and West, and his corsairs kept constantly at sea to intercept their convoys, which might come from Africa.

Appian.  
Dio.

Hunger is a very great incentive. The people grew tumultuous, and called aloud upon the Triumviri to make peace with Sextus. But Octavius remaining inflexible, Antony concluded that they must put themselves in a condition to make war immediately, before the famine should come to an extremity. It was not possible to undertake the war without having recourse to new impositions. They gave out orders, to tax the masters at the rate of twelve Denarii and a half, for the head of each slave which they possessed, and to retain a certain quota upon the successions and legacies for the publick expence. Then the people lost all patience, and the placards of the money edicts were pulled down. They thought it strange that the Triumviri, after having drained the publick treasury, spoiled provinces, harrassed Italy with proscriptions, confiscations, and all manner of extortions, should still rob the citizens of that little which was left them; and that not for a war which interested the State, or tended to the good of the empire,



A. R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
39.

pire, but for their particular quarrels, for their ambition, and destroying a family which was an enemy to their grandeur.

The publick indignation against the Triumvir turned into affection for Sextus; and the common people testified their sentiments at the games of the Circus, where it was the custom to carry in pomp the statue of Neptune. They received it with extraordinary applause in honour of Sextus, who called himself the son of that God. Octavius observed this inclination in them, and in order to prevent the like scene afterwards, during the time of the feasts, he forbid them to bring thither the statue of Neptune. But the people demanded it, and not being able to obtain satisfaction, they became furious. They began to throw stones, and Octavius coming to present himself to the enraged populace, run a risk of being killed. Neither his firmness in exposing himself to their blows, nor his representations, nor even his entreaties, when he saw the danger became pressing, could calm the fury of the tumult. Antony came to his assistance, and as he passed for being well enough disposed in favour of the peace they desired, the people at first did not offer to hurt him, but only begged him to retire. Upon his refusing they threw stones at him, and he was obliged to send orders for the troops, who having made a great slaughter among the mutineers, opened a passage for him to where his colleague was, whom he at last disengaged. The dead bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and their number, together with the licentiousness of the soldiers and mob, who plundered them, was a new subject of grief, but of a grief which fear obliged them to conceal.

Octavius increased this discontent by the feast which he gave according to custom, upon occasion of his first using the Razor, and the first-fruits of his beard, consecrated in ceremony to some God. The young Romans never shaved till the age of one or two and twenty years; but contented themselves with

clip-

shaving the hairs which were too long. Octavius had waited till he was five and twenty years old. He wanted to celebrate that day with magnificence, and give a feast to all the populace. But instead of being applauded for this by the multitude, it renewed their complaints. They observed, that this extraordinary and useless expence was very ill placed, at a time when the citizens were starving.

Octavius at last was obliged to yield to the people, rather to necessity, and give his consent to an accommodation with Sextus. In the mean while, to give appearances, he would not be seen in the beginning of a negotiation. It was Antony who first proposed the affair to Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus, and brother-in-law of Octavius. He proposed to Libo's friends at Rome to invite him by letters to come and visit his country, in order to enjoy the advantages of his new alliance with Octavius, and on another account still more important. Libo having obtained the consent of Sextus, came to the island of Enaria, upon the coast of Campania, at a small distance from Naples. But he would not proceed any further without a safe-guard from Octavius, who still made the people press him to grant it. The ardour of the multitude for peace was so great, that they forced Mucia, the mother of Sextus, to go to her son, and join her maternal authority to the wishes of the citizens; and upon that lady's making some resistance at first, the people were in such a rage, as to threaten to burn her in her house.

This precaution of the people was by no means superfluous. Sextus himself had no inclination to peace, and Menas, his freedman and confident, who at that time commanded considerable sea and land forces in Sardinia, wrote to him not to leave off the war, or at least to spin out the negotiation as long as he could, that the famine might render the Triumviri more tractable, and procure him more advantageous conditions.

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A. R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
39.

It is true that those illustrious Romans, who had found a retreat in Italy, were of a contrary opinion and alledged that he only advised the continuation of the war, because thereby he gained great profits and honours. And they probably guessed right, but it was an easy matter to retort the reproach against themselves, for their interest was manifest in the opinion they embraced. It was visible that they wanted to return to their own country after so long an exile; and Sextus, no doubt, knew well enough that they suffered impatiently the credit which his freedman had with him. It was at this time that Murcus, behaving with more haughtiness than the rest, was basely assassinated by order of Sextus; and as this tragical example served as a warning to those who were of his way of thinking, to be more circumspect with regard to their external behaviour, it only encreased their desire to free them from the dependance on a chief, who was capable of acting in so cruel a manner.

Libo felt the difficulty of conducting a negotiation, which could not succeed but contrary to the natural wishes of the parties to be reconciled. In order to get rid of the trouble, and not to expose himself to reproaches, he proposed a conference between the three generals, that so they might terminate the differences between themselves. The people of Rome on one side, and the fugitives fled for refuge to Sextus on the other, supported the proposition so strongly, that it was accepted. Antony and Octavius marched with their troops to the coast of Baiæ; and Sextus came to lie before the Promontory of Misenum, on board a gally of six rows of oars, attended by a beautiful and numerous fleet.

In preparing for the conference, they took such measures as shewed they had but little confidence in one another. Upon stakes drove into the sea they raised two bridges, between which they left an empty space. That bridge which joined to the land was for the Triumviri, the other for Sextus. At the first interview, their claims were widely different. Sextus de-



## MARCIUS, CALVISIUS, Consuls.

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demanded no less than to be made a colleague with Octavius and Antony, and to be substituted in the room of the weak Lepidus. The Triumviri, on the contrary, would only allow him the simple liberty of returning to Rome. They parted then very little satisfied with one another, but in the mean time, without breaking off the negotiation. The famine was a pressing reason for the Triumviri, and Sextus saw himself warmly solicited by those who were about him. They even committed violence upon him in a manner; and at a time when they fatigued him with their solicitations, he cried out, tearing his cloaths, that he was betrayed by those whom he had saved, and that Menas was the only person, whose bravery and fidelity he could depend upon. However, in spite of so strong a protestation, he could not resist the entreaties of so many great persons, supported by those of his mother. The peace was concluded upon very honourable terms for him, if he could have depended upon their being punctually observed.

A. R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
39.

In this treaty he stipulated for himself, for the illustrious fugitives to whom he had given sanctuary, and for his soldiers.

For himself he obtained, the confirmed and peaceable possession of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, to which was likewise added Achaia. All which he was to possess, as long as the Triumviri themselves should enjoy their proper districts. They likewise promised him the Consulship, with a power to exercise that office in his absence, by means of any of his friends whom he should appoint his proxy. They also assured him of the dignity of Augur, and seventy millions of Sesterces on his father's estate, five hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and forty-five pounds sterling.

As to the fugitives, or exiles, they were distributed into three classes, the murderers of Cæsar, the proscribed, and those who had fled voluntarily. The first were not comprehended in the treaty. But according to the testimony of Appian and Dio, they had

a ver-

A. R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
39.

a verbal commission granted them, to chuse a place of exile, where they might live in safety. The proscribed were re-established in all their rights and privileges; but they restored them only a fourth part of their goods which had been confiscated. Those who had neither been condemned nor proscribed, were restored to all their privileges and estates, except their moveables. Some of the most distinguished amongst them obtained expressly magistracies and priestships.

The soldiers of Sextus were likewise treated very favourably. There were a great many of them in the condition of slaves. Being sure of finding liberty in Sicily, the slaves had deserted in flocks out of Italy; and this desertion came to such a height, that the Vestals, amongst the vows which they addressed to the Gods for the good of the empire, had received orders the preceding year to add a prayer, desiring a cessation of that calamity. The slaves, who had inlisted with Sextus, were preserved by the treaty in the enjoyment of their liberty; and they promised the free soldiers, who served in the army and fleets, the same recompences, after their term of service should be expired, which had been granted to the soldiers of the Triumviri.

For so many advantages which Sextus reaped from this treaty, he reciprocally engaged himself to draw off his troops from the ports which they occupied in Italy; no more to receive any fugitive slaves; not to augment his naval forces; to defend Italy against the pirates, and to send to Rome the same remittances of corn and other taxes, which those isles that were yielded to him used formerly to pay.

After those articles had been adjusted, the solemn act which confirmed them was sealed by the three contracting generals, and sent to Rome to be kept by the Vestals, as a precious and sacred charge. The conferences ended with testimonies of reciprocal friendship; they shook hands and embraced.

## MARCIUS, CALVISIUS, Consuls.

113

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
39.

The joy which this peace occasioned, was equal to the ardour with which it was desired. Italy delivered from the fear of a famine, which already began to be violently felt, and a great number of the Citizens of Rome restored to their country after a long exile, were for a while inexhaustible subjects both of public and particular congratulations. The most illustrious of those who were re-established by this treaty, were L. Aruntius, and M. Julius Silanus, C. Sentius Saturninus, and M. Titius, who, after returning thanks to Sextus proportioned to the favour they had received of him, followed Octavius to Rome, and were afterwards advanced to the highest honours.

Vell. II.

77.

Those who were the least contented with this peace, were doubtless the three Chiefs who concluded it. It is very certain, that Octavius especially, at the same time that he swore, was firmly resolved to break it the first opportunity. They all three, however, shewed great appearances of rejoicings, by the entertainments which they agreed to give one another by turns.

They drew lots among them who should begin; and the lot falling upon Sextus, Antony asked him where he would receive them: "In my keel," replied Sextus; "for that is all the paternal house which remains to Pompey." This was a reproach to Antony, who had usurped the house which belonged to Pompey in Rome. The allusion is still more happy in the Latin, because the same \* word which Sextus made use of to express his vessel, was the name of that part of Rome where his father's house stood.

Plut. Ant.  
Appian.  
Dio.

During the entertainment, they were very merry, and chiefly at the expence of Antony, whose passion for Cleopatra furnished matter for a great deal of pleasantry; but the scene would have changed, and become very serious, if Sextus had yielded to the advice of Menas, who whispered him in the ear; "Al-

\* In carinis meis. VELL. II. 77.



A. R. 713. "I'll allow me to cut the cordage of the anchors, and thus  
 Ant. C. "make you master not only of Sicily and Sardinia,  
 39. "but also of the whole universe." The enticement  
 was strong, and Sextus had need of reflection to con-  
 firm himself against so powerful a temptation. He  
 considered it a moment, and honour prevailing over  
 his interest and ambition, he answered Menas; "You  
 "ought to have done it without telling me; but  
 "since you have mentioned it to me, we must be  
 "content with what we have, for I cannot perjure  
 "myself."

Appian.  
 Dio.

Sextus's guests heard nothing of what was said,  
 and the entertainment ended as gaily as it began.  
 They even began to talk of publick affairs, and pro-  
 jected a marriage between two children who were very  
 young, viz. the daughter of Sextus with young Mar-  
 cellus, the son of Octavia, son-in-law to Antony,  
 and nephew to Octavius. Appian adds, that next  
 day they entered into schemes amongst themselves  
 with regard to the Consulship for a great while to come.  
 I shall hereafter mention what is necessary about this,  
 in its proper place. The Triumviri treated their new  
 allies successively in their turns in tents pitched pur-  
 posely on the beach; after which they parted, Sextus  
 returning to Sicily, and Octavius and Antony to  
 Rome.

Plut.

They passed some time there in perfect harmony,  
 and agreed in all affairs of consequence wherein they  
 were concerned. But in their games and amusements,  
 the superiority of Octavius above Antony, put the  
 latter out of humour. In short, Plutarch assures us,  
 that in every game of chance between them, Octavius  
 had always the better. At other times, when they  
 had cock-fighting, or quails, which they trained up  
 to that exercise, the victory was always on Octavius's  
 side. This continual train of bad success in trifles,  
 was a real mortification to Antony, and disposed him  
 to listen to the advice of an Egyptian astrologer, who  
 belonged to his retinue, and who, whether he was  
 himself the dupe of his own deceitful art, or, which

is more likely, was gained over by Cleopatra, to bring back Antony to her, was constantly telling him that his fortune, which of itself was great and exalted, was obscured by that of Octavius. He exhorted him in consequence of it to shun the presence of his young colleague. "For," said he, "your genius is afraid of his. When it is alone, and far removed from this competitor, it is fierce and elevated; but when they approach near each other, it is fearful and dejected." However contemptible such a philosophy may be, these superstitious notions, joined to those small, but sensible and repeated disgusts which Antony received, had their effect. He left Italy, and arrived at Athens, taking with him Octavia, who a little while before was delivered of a daughter.

Antony's stay at Athens was very agreeable to him, and he passed the winter there, laying aside the pomp of his high station which constrained him, and familiarizing himself willingly with a people, who have always had the character of gaiety, politeness, and an ingenious flattery towards their superiors. Thus in the feast which he gave to the Athenians, on account of the victories which Ventidius his lieutenant had obtained over the Parthians, as I shall very soon relate, he exercised himself the office of master of the revels. He substituted the badges of his office of a citizen, to the magnificent equipages of his triumviral dignity, and presided at the feast in a cloak and socks after the Grecian manner.

It was in consequence of the same taste for foolish trifling, that partly from drunkenness, and partly from a popular vein, he renewed the scene which he had acted before in Asia, in making himself be honoured as a new Bacchus. They observed, on his account, all the joyous ceremonies of the God of wine, and he represented him personally perfectly well. But the Athenians being willing to encourage this humour of Antony, were but very ill rewarded for their pleasure. For taking into their heads, after having saluted him as Bacchus, to offer him in marriage the

A. R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
39.

Athen. IV.  
12.  
Sen. Suas.  
for. I.

A.R. 715.  
Ant. C.  
39.

goddess Minerva, their protectress, he accepted the proposal, and taxed them at a thousand talents on her dowry. A wag in the company represented to him on this subject, that Semele her mother had brought no portion to Jupiter. But Antony still persisted in demanding the thousand talents, and without delay: though Dellius, still pursuing the same humour, observed to him, that according to the usual practice at Rome, they had commonly three years allowed them to pay the portion at three different payments. This affair put the Athenians into an ill humour, and set them on pasquinading Antony for it, which only diverted him, not at all envying them this little revenge.

While he amused himself with those frivolous pastimes, Ventidius made war for him against the Parthians with success capable of raising his jealousy. His thirst after the glory of arms was not at all abated. He was afraid that his lieutenants would leave him nothing to do; and having resolved to put himself at the head of his armies in the East, he set out from Athens the beginning of the year, when Ap. Claudius and Norbanus were Consuls.

### S E C T. III.

*Motions of the Parthians. Conducted by Labienus the son, they invade Syria. They establish Antigonus king of Judea, and carry away Hyrcan prisoner. Labienus conquers Cilicia, and penetrates as far as Caria. Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant, arrives, and obtains over the Parthians two victories successively. Antony, jealous of the glory of Ventidius, leaves Athens to put himself at the head of his armies. The third victory of Ventidius, where Pacorus prince of the Parthians is killed. Ventidius dares not push his advantages, for fear of provoking the jealousy of Antony. The siege of Samosates, the success of which does no honour to Antony. The triumph of Ventidius. The taking of Jerusalem*



Jerusalem by Sosius and Herod. Antigonus is whipped with rods, and put to death like a criminal. Herod put in peaceable possession of the crown. Confusion and contempt of all the laws in Rome. Octavius falls in love with Livia. He divorces Scribonia the same day she was delivered of Julia. He marries Livia, who was yielded to him by her husband, when she was six months gone with child. The birth of Drusus. Tiberius and Drusus brought up in the palace of Octavius. Causes of the rupture between Octavius and Sextus. Menas made free by Sextus, goes into Octavius's service. Preparations of Octavius for the war. A sea-fight near Cuma. Another near the rock of Scylla, where Octavius's fleet is very much damaged. A tempest compleats the ruin of the naval forces of Octavius. Sextus does not know how to make a right use of this opportunity. Octavius takes time to make new preparations. Agrippa, conqueror in Gaul, refuses a triumph. A continuation of the Triumviri for five years. Agrippa charged with the preparations for war against Sextus. The port of Julius formed by the junction of the lakes of Lucrinus and Avernus. A pretended Omen which happened to Livia.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

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I Have deferred till now mentioning the motions of the Parthians, that I might be able to connect them into one subject. It will therefore be necessary to begin farther back.

From the beginning of the civil wars amongst the Justin. Romans, the Parthians had always an inclination to XLII. 4. follow Pompey's party. They remembered that that general, when he was formerly in the East, had observed a pacific conduct with regard to them. And besides, they knew that M. Crassus, second son of Crassus their enemy, was attached to Cæsar, and had served in his army, which was another motive for them to imagine, that if this faction became victori- ous,

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ous, they had reason to expect a war. And, indeed, we have seen that Cæsar was ready to make war upon them, at the time he was assassinated.

After his death, the Parthians still pursuing their plan, favoured Brutus and Cassius. They had prepared to send them succours, when they received the news of their defeat, and deplorable end.

Dio.

The person who solicited their assistance, was Labienus, the son of the famous deserter, who from being Cæsar's creature and lieutenant, became his implacable enemy. The son inherited his father's hatred against Cæsar's party; and having lost his hopes by the ruin of Brutus and Cassius, he chose rather to remain under a foreign power, than to expose himself to inevitable death in his own country. At first, he was but little considered by those who protected him; but having always his eye upon the turn which affairs took in the Roman Empire, upon the first troubles which arose between Octavius and Antony, he represented to the Parthians, that it was a favourable opportunity for them; and that while the principal Roman forces destroyed each other in Italy, by the Tuscan war, and Antony was rendered effeminate in Egypt by Cleopatra, they might avenge themselves for the unjust war which Crassus had made against them, and even invade the Roman provinces, which were situated in their neighbourhood, and lay convenient for them.

His advice was listened to, and Orodes, king of the Parthians, raised a powerful army to make an invasion upon Syria. He established his son Pacorus general of this army, and gave him for his counsellors Barzapharnes and Labienus, in whose good conduct he chiefly depended for success. And indeed, he was not disappointed in his hope. Antony had left Decidius Saxa, who had been a long time strongly attached to him, to command in Syria. But the troops which he gave him, had served under Cassius. Labienus found then among them friends and acquaintances, and he knew so well to take the ad-

vantage

vantage of that, and to put them in mind of the oath they had formerly taken to the defenders of the Roman liberty, that they revolted to a man. All the towns opened their gates to them, and even Apame and Antioch received them, and Saxa, abandoned by his army, was reduced to kill himself with his own hand, that he might not fall into the power of the conqueror. There was only Tyre which resisted the Parthians, conducted by Labienus. The garrison was faithful, and was supplied by a concourse of all those who had left Syria, in order to shun the new yoke of the Parthians.

Having thus subdued Syria, the Parthians passed into Judea, whither they were invited by Antigonus, nephew and rival to Hyrcan. That prince, possessed with the blind fury of reigning, was not ashamed to promise them, in order to obtain their assistance, not only a thousand talents of silver, but five hundred women. The Parthians over-run all Judea, and, seconded by Antigonus's party, they easily rendered themselves masters of the whole country, and penetrated into Jerusalem. Herod and his brother, who defended, or rather governed Hyrcan, made nevertheless a strong resistance in the palace. But the Parthians, joining perfidy to force, according to their usual practice, persuaded the weak Hyrcan, and even Phazael, the brother of Herod, to come and negotiate a peace with them; and when they had them in their power, they put them in chains, contrary to their oath, and delivered them to their enemies. Phazael killed himself in despair. As to Hyrcan, the rage of Antigonus hurried him to such an unnatural excess, as to make him bite and tear his ears off, thereby to render him for ever incapable of the sovereign priesthood, which by the law could not be enjoyed by a man who was maimed in any of his members. The Parthians even carried away with them the unfortunate Hyrcan, that Antigonus, whom they had established king of Judea, might have no umbrage. It was at that time Herod, having no more resource in

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Jos. Ant.  
XIV. 23.  
& de B.  
Jud. I. 11.



A. R. 714. any of those whom he saw about him, went to Rome,  
Ant. C. as I have before related, and obtained of Antony and  
38. Octavius the title of king.

Dio. Labienus pushed his victories, and entered into Cilicia. Plancus was charged by Antony to defend the provinces of Asia; but being a very indifferent warrior, he fled at the approach of the enemy, and went over into some of the neighbouring isles, where he found a sure retreat, because the Parthians had no vessels. The country thus abandoned, lay at the mercy of the conquerors, and Labienus penetrated even to Caria, where he took and destroyed the towns of Mylasa and Alabanda. But he failed in his attempt upon Stratonicia.

Strabo l:  
XIV. p.  
660. &  
Dio.

Hybreas, the Orator, whom I have had occasion already to mention, did the duty of a good citizen upon this occasion, and animated the Carians, his countrymen, to defend themselves with courage. As he was a man of an agreeable wit, he ridiculed the vanity of Labienus, and in order to contrast the title of Parthian, which that general took, he caused himself to be called Carian. This pleasantry was very well founded, for Labienus acted quite the reverse of the Roman generals, who borrowed new surnames of the provinces which they had vanquished, and not of those whom he led to make war against their countrymen. The success afterwards was not favourable to Hybreas; his country and the town of Mylasa were ruined, as I have said, and he himself obliged to retire to the island of Rhodes, in order to save his life.

Such was the situation of affairs when Ventidius arrived in Asia, being sent by Antony, who had just concluded the treaty at Brundisium with Octavius. As soon as he arrived, things entirely changed their appearance. Labienus retreated immediately as far as Mount Taurus, in order to be supplied with the forces of the Parthians, the main body of which remained still in Syria. Ventidius followed them; and upon approaching the army of the Parthians, knowing the superiority of the cavalry of that nation in  
fight.

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fighting upon plain ground, he encamped upon a height, affecting a shew of timidity. The enemy, proud of their numbers, and the victories which they had gained, came and imprudently attacked him upon a rising ground. In a kind of fight where agility of motion or arrows were of little service, all the advantage was on the side of the Romans. They had greatly the better of the Parthians, and without trouble or risk cut them in pieces, and routed them. Labienus saved himself by flight: But was known, after he had wandered some time in Cilicia, by Demetrius, a freedman of Cæsar the Dictator, and proposed by Antony for the government of the island of Cyprus, who took him prisoner, and, very probably, put him to death. What makes me of this opinion is, that history makes no more mention of him after he was taken. This first victory of Ventidius restored to Antony all the country which Labienus had taken from him in Asia.

It was presently followed by a second, in which the Satrap Barzapharnes was killed, and which recovered to the Romans all Syria. There was only the little island of Aradus, which persisted in rebellion; because it had offended Antony too much, to hope for any favour. The inhabitants of Aradus had burnt alive Curtius Salassius, who came to raise contributions upon them for Antony. They were obstinate in maintaining the siege, which was long. For they were a courageous people, and skilful in war. But their forces were too unequal to be able to get the better.

It was upon occasion of these two victories of Ventidius, that Antony celebrated at Athens the feast which I have given an account of. I have added that the Triumvir, jealous of the honour of his lieutenant, marched speedily to gather those laurels which properly belonged to him, and the honour of which he only borrowed. But before he arrived at the army, Ventidius had obtained a third victory, which might be looked upon as putting an end to the war.

Paco-

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38.

Dio l.

XLIX.

Pacorus returned into Syria with a numerous army during the Consulship of Ap. Claudius and Norbanus and had he made haste to pass the Euphrates, he would very much have embarrassed Ventidius, who had not, at that time, all his forces assembled, and part of whose legions was then in Cappadocia, beyond Mount Taurus. In order to prevent this from happening, he made use of artifice. There was in his camp a Syrian prince, named Channæus, who knew kept a correspondence with the Parthians. Ventidius, instead of punishing him, or shewing any distrust, feigned sometimes to consult him, and on the occasion which we are now speaking of he told him that he should be very glad if the enemy would pass the river at Zeugma, according to their usual custom; because in that country there were heights which he knew how to make use of against them, but that he should look upon it as an unfavourable circumstance to him, if they went to search for a passage below, where they would find plains very commodious for the operations of their cavalry. The perfidious Channæus laid hold of this false confidence, and, being imposed upon by Ventidius, he imposed upon the prince of the Parthians, who thought he could not take a better resolution than that which the enemy was afraid of. This retarded Pacorus for many days, both on account of the large sweep he was obliged to take, and because the river being very broad at the part where he passed it, the throwing a bridge over it took up a great deal of time. During this interval, Ventidius had sufficient leisure to assemble his troops, and he had his army complete three days before the Parthians had passed the river.

The two armies met in the Cyrrestica, a country of Syria, and they were not long in sight of each other before they came to blows. The Parthians though they had been twice defeated by Ventidius had lost nothing of their rash presumption, but became new dupes to the same appearance of timidity by which that general had before drawn them in.



snare. Pacorus, seeing that the Romans kept A.R. 714.  
in their camp, came to attack them. But he Ant. C.  
was not only repulsed, but lost the best of his troops, 38.  
and even his life. He died fighting valiantly, and his  
death completed the rout of his army. The Ro-  
mans obtained an entire victory, and they reckoned  
that they had payed back the Parthians, for  
the defeat of Crassus. The fliers divided themselves.  
Those who attempted to get back to the bridge,  
were the most part prevented and slain by the vic-  
tors. The rest retired to Antiochus king of Comma-  
gena.

If Ventidius had pursued his victory, and entered Plut. &  
Mesopotamia, the empire of the Parthians had been Dio.  
exposed to very great danger. For the death of Pa-  
corus had spread an extraordinary consternation  
amongst them. But Antony's lieutenant was afraid  
of having too well served his general, and he did not  
think that it was at all prudent to exasperate, by a  
new success, his jealousy, which had already been  
carried but too far. He therefore contented himself  
with bringing back to their duty the little princes and  
towns of Syria, which still preserved an affection for  
the Parthians; and knowing that Pacorus made him-  
self equally beloved by the Syrians for his justice, as  
admired for his bravery, he ordered his head to be  
carried all round the country, that being convinced  
of his death by the testimony of their own eyes, the  
people might more easily forget a prince, whom they  
could never be detached from while they thought he  
was alive.

All submitted to the conqueror; only Antiochus  
of Commagena, who was summoned to deliver the  
Parthians, that had fled to him for refuge, refused  
to obey. Ventidius went therefore to besiege him in  
Samofatis, his capital, and very soon obliged him to  
desire to capitulate for the sum of a thousand talents.  
The express orders of Antony hindered this proposal  
from being accepted. He was just upon his arrival,  
and he wanted to reserve for himself at least this last

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exploit, and to take the town of Samosatis by force. But his political jealousy turned out very ill. The ardour of the soldiers cooled when they saw Ventidius, instead of being honoured and recompensed, turned out of all employment. And, on the contrary, the courage of the besieged was animated, by the despair which the refusal of their offer occasioned. The siege then was spun out to a great length, and Antony at last was extremely glad to accept of three hundred talents instead of a thousand, and to grant a peace to Antiochus for this sum.

This was the only fruit of Antony's expedition. He then returned to Octavia at Athens, whose lover he was at that time, as well as her husband. Happy, if that lawful passion for his wife, had effaced for ever from his heart the remembrance of Cleopatra.

They decreed him a triumph at Rome for the victories of Ventidius; and in this there was nothing contradictory to the Roman laws, because it was the custom with them always to attribute the honour of military successes to the general, under whose auspices they were obtained.

The true conqueror, however, was not frustrated of his reward; for Antony, although he was jealous of his lieutenant, was not of an unjust or malicious character, and did not envy Ventidius the triumph he so well deserved.

The triumph decreed to Antony was not celebrated, because that general was always employed in other affairs, which he thought preferable. But Ventidius, to whom such an honour was extremely agreeable, went to Rome to triumph over the Parthians. The ceremony was celebrated very pompously the twenty-eighth of December. They saw, not without astonishment in Rome, a triumpher, who had himself been formerly led in triumph. And another singularity, which encreased the glory of Ventidius, was, his being the first who had triumphed over the Parthians, and he was a long time the only one. His extraordinary merit had raised him from obscurity, and

and he was only obliged to Antony's friendship, for giving him opportunities of exercising his talents. Josephus and Dio accuse him of avarice, which is the only fault which history has laid to his charge.

The victories of Ventidius paved the way for Herod's advancement, by depriving Antigonus of the aid of the Parthians. This, however, was not an easy affair, to destroy Antigonus, even after he had only his own forces to trust to. That prince, supported by his courage, and the affection of the greatest part of the nation of Judea, made a resistance at least for the space of a year; and Sosius, who had been settled governor of Syria, by Antony, was obliged to employ all the Roman troops under his command against so unequal an enemy. The city of Jerusalem, besieged not only by Herod but by Sosius, at the head of a Roman army, consisting of eleven legions, defended itself for the space of five months. It was taken piece by piece; the besieged intrenching themselves always further in, in proportion as they abandoned what was forced by the enemy. In short, the temple, which was their last resource, and in the sanctity of which, these sensual people placed a blind confidence, was taken by assault, on the sabbath, when they celebrated the solemn fast of the third month; and consequently the same day that Pompey made himself master of it twenty-six years before. For I have placed that event here, which happened the year following.

The victors overflowed Jerusalem with the blood of its inhabitants, without distinction either of age or sex. The indignation of the Romans was animated by the obstinate defence of the besieged, and the hatred of party, which was still more violent, pushed the Jews, who were attached to Herod, to grant no quarter to their unfortunate countrymen. However, after the first fury was satisfied, Herod saved the remains of that wretched city. He represented to the soldiers, that if they insisted upon plundering it, they would make him king of a desert. But these representations



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sentations would have had very little effect, if they had not been enforced by money, which he liberally distributed amongst the Romans, from the general to the common soldier.

Herod took also great pains to hinder the profanation of the temple, by putting a stop to the indiscreet and eager curiosity of this multitude of strangers and gentiles. This great care of his deserves to be commended, provided it was the effect of zeal in him, and not to be attributed to a selfish policy, and the desire of gaining the affection of the people he was going to reign over.

For the throne was his only object, and he sacrificed every thing to his ambition. Thus as the life of Antigonus must create eternal disquietudes in him, and always render uncertain his possession of the crown, he shewed no generosity with regard to that unfortunate prince. On the contrary, he was obstinately bent on pursuing him to death. Antigonus, by a conduct very little worthy of that courage which he had till then discovered, gave himself up willingly into the hands of Sosius, who sent him in chains to Antioch, whither Antony was returned; where Herod by his money and solicitations obtained, that he should be tried for his life as a criminal. He was condemned, bound to a post, beaten with rods, and at last beheaded by the hands of a lictor, punishments which the Romans had never before inflicted upon any crowned head. In him ended the reign of the Asmonæans, who had exercised the sovereign power, together with the high-priesthood, during the space of sixscore years. Herod saw himself then at the height of his wishes, no more simply adorned with the vain title of Royalty, but in real and peaceable possession of a kingdom, which some years before he rather longed after, than hoped for.

We must now return to the affairs of Rome and Italy, which present us with a spectacle not less animated, though less shining in history.

Plut. Dio.  
Jof.

# CLAUDIUS, NORBANUS, Consuls.

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The confusion, and contempt of all the laws, continued to disfigure the face of the city. During that year which the Consuls Appius Claudius and Norbanus began, they reckoned sixty-seven Prætors; the Triumviri multiplying the number of magistrates without measure, by deposing and restoring as they took it into their heads. The Quæstorship, for which none could be regularly named before the age of twenty-seven years, was given to a youth who had not yet laid aside the Toga Prætexta; and he put on the Virilis next day after he was named. A Senator newly created wanted to fight as a gladiator; but he was prevented, and they made a decree, forbidding this inhuman debasement of the Senatorial dignity. But fury and perverseness had more force than this decree, which was frequently violated under the following emperors.

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The affairs which employed Octavius, and were constantly his main object, did not, however, hinder his being sensible to love. Livia found means to inspire him with a strong and lasting passion, more by the power of her wit, than the charms of her beauty. She was lately returned to Rome with her husband, Tiberius Nero. I have mentioned before, that a zeal for the Republick, after the Perusian war, had made him fly into Sicily with his whole family. There, his pride and haughtiness could not stoop to that complacency which Sextus demanded; and he went into Greece after Antony, who brought him back with him into Italy.

Suet. Tib.  
C. 4.

Livia was but a short while in Rome till she engaged the affection of Octavius. He was indeed married, but the peevish humour of Scribonia his wife was very disagreeable to him; and perhaps the insinuating gentleness of Livia, contributed not a little to make Scribonia's rough behaviour the more insupportable. He used so little ceremony with her, that he divorced her the same day she was delivered of a daughter, who turned out afterwards the too famous Julia.

Suet. Aug.  
16. & 68.  
Dio.

Pre-

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Ant. C.

38.

Presently Octavius wanted to contract a marriage with her whom he was in love with. But there was an obstacle in the way, which appeared likely to retard it, for she was six months gone with child, and they could not, without breaking through all the laws and rules of decency, dispense with waiting till she was delivered. The impatience of Octavius would not suffer this delay; but attentive and skilful in finding of colours to save at least external appearances, he consulted the college of the Pontiffs upon that extraordinary question, if a woman in Livia's situation could be lawfully married? To this \* consultation, which was rather a derision, as Tacitus calls it, the Pontiffs answered gravely, that provided it was uncertain who was the father of the child, the marriage could not be suffered; but that the circumstance of a child conceived in lawful wedlock, being well known after the mother had been six months pregnant, there could be no difficulty in the case proposed. Such was the decision of the Pontiffs, conformable perhaps, says Dio, to what they found in their books. But if their books had told them the contrary, their answer would certainly have been the same.

Vell. II. 79.

Suet. Tib.

Dio.

The next thing they had to consider, was the ceremony of the marriage, in which Livia's husband performed the office of a father, with regard to her, and authorized her to engage with Octavius. At the marriage supper, the simplicity of a child, whom Livia amused herself with, rebuked the new married couple for the indecency of their conduct. For as Octavius and Livia were upon the same couch at table, and Tiberius Nero upon another, the little slave, who did not yet understand the reason of it, approached in a surprise to Livia, and said to her, "What do you do there, madam? Behold your husband," shewing Tiberius Nero to her, "who is at a great distance from you."

\* Consulti per ludibrium Pontifices, an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet. Tac. Ann. l. 10.



At the end of three months Livia was delivered of a second son, whose name was Drusus, and Octavius did not fail to send him to Tiberius Nero, as being his father. But he could not, by this precaution, hinder people from believing that the child was his own. There was a Greek verse current amongst the people, to this purpose, "The \* happy have children after three months marriage." However, it is difficult to persuade one's self that Octavius looked upon Drusus as his son, if one reflects, that when he came to name a successor to the empire, he preferred to him Marcellus his nephew, Agrippa his son-in-law, and the sons of his daughter.

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Tiberius Nero lived only five years after the birth of Drusus, and when he was dying, he named Octavius tutor to his two sons. The eldest, who became afterwards the emperor Tiberius, was at that time only nine years of age. Thus his † education, as well as that of his brother, was directed by the authority, in the palace, and under the eyes of the first man in the universe, who acted the part of a father the more heartily to them, as his attachment for their mother never diminished.

Suet. Tibi  
4, 5, 6.

The peace, which was concluded the preceding year, between Sextus Pompeius and the Triumviri, was not of long duration. Octavius and Sextus had consented to it against their will, and occasions of rupture can never be long wanting to those who are in quest of them.

Appian.  
Civil. l. v.  
Dio. l.  
xlviii.

Sextus complained both of Antony and Octavius. Of Antony, for detaining from him the island of Achaia, which had been yielded to him by the treaty of Missenum; and of Octavius, for not allowing the citizens who were re-established by the same treaty,

\* *Τὸς τρίτοναι καὶ τεσσαρὰ μῆνας*. SUET. CLAUD. C. I.

† *Sensere (Rhæti) quid mens rite, quid indoles*

*Nutrita faultis sub penetralibus*

*Posset, quid Augusti paternus*

*In pueros animus Nêrones.*

HOR. Od. IV. 4.

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those advantages which had been promised them. In consequence of these violations, he alledged, that he had a right to free himself of an engagement which confined him extremely. It was not without the greatest regret and fear, that he saw himself constrained not to augment his forces, while those of the Triumviri were infinitely superior. He caused new vessels to be built, engaged rowers, and even secretly authorized the pyrates, whom he had promised to repress, to seize the provisions which were coming by sea to Rome, and other places in Italy; so that the famine, which had scarce given them time to breathe, began again to press them almost as hard as before: and that peace, which at first was received with such universal applause, seemed to the Romans to procure them no other advantage, than that of adding a fourth tyrant to the three which before oppressed them.

In the design which Octavius had to renew the war, nothing could happen more agreeable to his wishes, than this conduct of Sextus; especially with respect to the provisions, so interesting to the multitude, and so capable of irritating them against the author of their misery: On this account, he studied to make a full discovery of the collusion of Sextus with the pyrates, who infested the seas. Some of these pyrates having been made prisoners, were by his order put to the torture, and he caused their depositions, which laid the blame upon Sextus, to be published. He confirmed this first testimony by that of Menas, who at this time came over to him, unworthily betraying his patron and benefactor.

It appears that Menas had courage for war, and skill in sea affairs; but he was proud and arrogant, and joined to those vices all the meanness of the soul of a slave. As he governed absolutely his patron, his authority was insupportable to those illustrious Romans who still acknowledged Sextus as their chief. They had tried to shake off the yoke themselves, by ruining his credit; but seeing that Sextus gave no ear

to any but his freedmen, they had recourse to this method, and stirred up the jealousy of Menas's fraternity. These, under the authority of those great men, were easily determined to do that which they had a strong inclination to do before. They prevailed in raising suspicions in the mind of their patron; and an order was sent to Menas, who commanded in Sardinia, to come and give an account of his administration.

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Menas, who was artful, had foreseen the storm, and the preceding year had made his court to Octavius, by sending to him one of his freedmen, named Helenus, taken in a battle in Sardinia. Helenus was very well esteemed by his patron, who consequently had been touched with the politeness of Menas. After this first introduction, Menas continued to embrace every occasion of rendering himself agreeable to Octavius; and when he saw his disgrace resolved upon, he found means to acquaint him, that he would deliver to him all that he had under his command; that is to say, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, three legions, sixty gallies, and a considerable number of brave officers. Octavius was in doubt some time whether he should accept the offers of a traitor, whom he could not trust. In fine, the present advantage he would be of to him carried it; and Menas, having received assurances in time, caused to be stopped and put to death, those who had been sent from Sextus, and passed over with his fleet and troops to the colours of Octavius. He was received with a distinction which was not granted to his person, but to the assistance which he brought with him. The Triumviri ordered that he should enjoy the same honours as those who were born free; he adorned him with a gold ring, and admitted him into the order of the Roman Knights. He even allowed him to sit at his table, an honour which he never granted, either before or after, to any freedman. In short, he gave him the title and rank of lieutenant-general; so that in this quality he might



A. R. 714.  
Ant. C.  
38.  
Appian.  
Dio.

command, under the admiral Calvisius Sabinus, the sixty vessels which he had brought with him.

Sextus was extremely irritated at the treachery of Menas: he even demanded him back as a fugitive slave to whom he had a right; and in order to revenge himself of Octavius's refusing to send him back, he sent Menecrates, one of his freedmen, with a squadron, to plunder the coast of Campania. By this hostility, Octavius alledged that the peace was absolutely broke. He took out of the hands of the Vestals, the treaty of Misenum, and wrote to Antony and Lepidus, to come and join with him against the common enemy. Lepidus, who was not easily put in motion, remained still in Africa; and Antony was ready to set out to take upon him the command of the troops which fought against the Parthians, under Ventidius, at the time when he received Octavius's letter. He came to Brundisium, but his colleague not meeting him there, he returned immediately. The formidable preparations of Octavius had given him umbrage; and laying hold of the war of the Parthians, which demanded his presence, he wrote to the young Triumvir, that he must of necessity go into Syria, and advised that the treaty should be observed; and, rejecting the cause of the rupture concerning Menas, he threatened to demand him in quality of the purchaser of Pompey's estate, of which Menas, as a slave, must be considered as a part.

Octavius thus reduced to act alone, pursued his project with no less eagerness on that account. He had two numerous fleets; the one composed mostly of the vessels of Menas, and commanded, as I have said, by Calvisius Sabinus; the other built and equipped at Ravenna, upon the Adriatic sea, which had for admiral L. Cornificius. These two fleets, the last of which Octavius wanted to command in person, were, according to his plan, to attack the two opposite sides of Sicily at the same time; and his legions were to march by land to Reggio, in order to compleat the

victory,

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victory, by passing into Sicily, after having rendered himself master of the sea, by means of his naval forces. But the success did not answer such formidable and well-concerted plans and preparations.

Sextus had taken measures for a vigorous resistance. For having likewise divided his forces, he had sent Menecrates at the head of a part of his fleet, before Calvisius; and he himself remained at Messina, in order to wait for Octavius.

Menecrates was brave, a good seaman, and a personal enemy to the traitor Menas. As soon as he came in sight of the fleet near Cuma, where his adversary was, he wanted to engage him; but it appears that Calvisius had orders to shun it. It is certain, that instead of accepting the challenge, he continued to sheer off along the coast, advancing towards the Streights. Menecrates laid hold on this opportunity of attacking the fleet with advantage, and to hem them in to the land, whilst his rear was free, and he had liberty of steering his vessels as he pleased. He had already destroyed, sunk, and disabled several vessels, when he observed that of Menas, who also observed him. Their mutual hatred carried these two rivals to leave every thing else to tear one another to pieces. The shock was so violent, that the beak of the one vessel was carried away, and the other lost all its oars on one side. They endeavoured to board each other; but the vessel of Menas had a great advantage over that of Menecrates, because it was higher in the side. In the middle of the engagement the two chiefs were wounded, almost at the same time, Menas in the arm, and Menecrates in the thigh. The wound of Menas was not very considerable, but Menecrates was rendered unable for the combat; and not capable of fighting any more in person, animated his men in the mean while to exert themselves; till seeing his vessel taken, he threw himself into the sea, that he might not fall into the power of his enemy.

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The death of Menecrates rendered the battle almost equal between the two parties. Demochares his lieutenant, and a freedman of Sextus, as well as himself, though he had neither lost near so many men nor vessels as Calvisius, nevertheless retired into the port of Messina, and left to Octavius's admiral the liberty of pursuing his course in order to join his general.

Octavius having received the news of the sea-fight near Cuma, sailed out of the port of Reggio, with his fleet furnished with good troops, and passed the Straights, coasting towards Italy, to receive his lieutenant. Sextus observed, from Messina, the motions of Octavius. He followed him, and having come up with him near the rock of Scylla, so famous in fable, he attacked him very briskly. The position of the two fleets was nearly the same as at the fight of Cuma, and the success not at all different. All the bravery of the legionary soldiers of Octavius could not resist the superiority which their skill in sea affairs, and the advantage of their situation, gave to Sextus's people. Demochares, who had been put in the room of Menecrates by Sextus, seconded by Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, sunk and burnt a great many of the enemy's vessels; and perhaps they would all have either been destroyed or taken, if in the evening the victors had not observed Calvisius coming up; upon which, they retired, leaving the fleet of Octavius in inexpressible disorder.

The terror they were in was so strong, that the greatest part left their vessels, and saved themselves by land, where the night soon overtook them, before they were able to find either a shelter to defend themselves from the inclemencies of the air, or provisions for their support. The only resource which was left them was to light up fires, in order to inform the neighbourhood that they had need of assistance. They did not so much as know that Calvisius was near them, because they could not discover his fleet, which was hid by the coast.

In



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In the midst of this fearful and distressed multitude, Octavius preserved an undaunted courage. Destitute himself of every thing, he was wholly occupied about his soldiers, going about and exhorting them to have patience till day-light; and very luckily a legion, which was not far off, having perceived the signals, made haste to the places where they saw the fires lighted, carrying with them such refreshments as were necessary, both for the general and for the troops. In the mean time Octavius was informed of Calvisius's arrival, which restored his tranquillity, and allowed him to take some rest.

The return of day-light presented to them a dismal spectacle of vessels shattered to pieces, or damaged by the fire, and their cordage floating on the surface of the waves. But this was not all. A storm came to complete the destruction of those who had escaped from the enemy. For all of a sudden there sprung up such a violent South wind, that no art nor force was able to resist it. Sextus had conveyed his fleet into the port of Messina, but that of Octavius was driven against the rocks, upon coasts which afforded no kind of shelter; and to compleat their misfortunes, they wanted a sufficient number of sailors to manage their vessels, the greatest part having fled on shore after the fight.

The fleet of Calvisius did not suffer so much, because Menas, who was well acquainted with sea affairs, no sooner saw the tempest begin to arise, than he made towards the ocean, where the waves were not so strong; and there having cast anchor, he ordered his whole crew to row violently against the direction of the wind, and thus he kept his station, gaining as much by his oars as he lost by the wind.

On the contrary, the fleet which Octavius commanded in person, having kept near the shore, was prodigiously shattered. The violence of the wind and sea drove them from their anchors, broke their cordage, and the vessels driving against one another, or forced against the rocks, were almost all destroyed,

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together

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together with the greatest part of the men who were on board. This furious tempest lasted a whole day and a night, so that it had time enough to complete the disaster of Octavius.

He was so excessively grieved, that not being able to bear the sight of an accident which he could not possibly redress, he retired to Vibo, and from thence he distributed his land forces in all the maritime places, to protect them against the incursions which his enemy might attempt upon Italy, after so great an advantage. But Sextus, more courageous in defending himself, than keen in attacking Octavius, let slip this good opportunity; and by an inexcusable negligence, he not only made no attempt upon any of the towns on the coast, but he even did not pursue the remains of the Triumvir's fleet; and left them to retreat quietly, and regain Vibo, towing along such ships as they hoped might be refitted for service.

Octavius's loss was so great, that in spite of Sextus's indolence, it required the space of two years to recruit his force, and make new preparations. For bad success never dispirited him, and he never lost sight of his design to destroy the great enemy of his family. The murmurs of the people of Italy, who suffered famine, were a motive for him not to abandon his scheme, but to make all possible dispatch to bring it speedily to a happy conclusion.

Plut. Ant. Writers have observed a great resemblance of fortune between Octavius and Antony in this, viz. that both of them succeeded better in their military enterprises by their lieutenants, than themselves. The war against the Parthians was an evident proof of it with regard to Antony; and as to Octavius, while he was defeated on the coast of Italy, both by the enemy and a tempest, his arms prospered in Gaul under Agrippa.

This man, sprung from a low family, but possessed of very great talents, and raised to an illustrious rank by the favour of Octavius, to whom he had always been the most faithful friend from his youth, brought back

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back to their duty the rebellious Gauls, and had the glory of being the second of the Romans, after Cæsar, who passed the Rhine. Octavius sending for him, named him Consul, and caused a triumph to be decreed. He accepted the Consulship; but with regard to the triumph, he did not think it was proper for him to make a shew of his victories, while his General was in trouble and unsuccessful; and being no less an able \* courtier than a great warrior, he refused an honour which would have rendered Octavius's mortification the more remarkable.

The five years of the Triumvirate now expired. But those who, under that title, had usurped the tyrannical power, were by no means disposed to lay it down, nor to restore liberty to their fellow-citizens. So far from this, they continued, without observing any formality, in the power they had usurped; and, without any authority from the people, they decreed to themselves a second Triumvirate, equal and exactly resembling the first, both for the extent of power and duration. Perhaps they thought themselves sufficiently authorized to do this, by a decree of the Senate, made two years before; which ratified and confirmed whatever they had done, or should do, during their magistracy.

Appian,  
Dio.

I have already said that Agrippa had been designed Consul by Octavius for the following year. And Canidius Gallus, one of Antony's friends, was appointed his colleague.

M. AGRIPPA.

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39.

L. CANIDIUS GALLUS.

The name of Agrippa's family was Vipsianus. But that name was so obscure, that he suppressed it after he arrived at his high fortune.

Sen. Con-  
trov. ii. 12.

Octavius had sent for him to charge him with the care of building a new fleet, and instructing the rowers

\* Parendi sed uni, scientissimus. VELL. ii. 79.

and



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Ant. C.  
37.  
Vel. n. 79.  
Suct. Aug.  
16.  
Appian.  
Dio.

and seamen. He acquitted himself of his double employment with all the zeal and capacity imaginable; overlooking the carpenters, and presiding in the exercises in which they instructed twenty thousand slaves, to whom Octavius had given the liberty to become rowers. Nor was this all; for as the coast of Italy had no harbour that was convenient for him, or capable of containing a great number of vessels, he contrived and executed that great design of joining one to another; and with the sea, the lakes Lucrinus and Avernus; in order to make a vast basin, where the most numerous fleets might be received, and find sufficient shelter from winds and tempests.

Freinsh.  
Suppl.  
cxxxviii.  
29.

The lake of Lucrinus, situated between Messina and Puzzoli, was separated from the sea by an old causeway, a mile in length, and of a sufficient breadth to allow a waggon to pass. Agrippa repaired and raised this causeway, which, being weakened in several places by length of time, was frequently overflowed, and consequently impassable. He cut two openings in it to allow a passage for ships; and from the bottom of the lake Lucrinus, he drew a canal to the lake Avernus: which last appears to be that which properly formed the port, and afforded a secure retreat to vessels. In order to correct the bad quality of the air, which passed for infectious and pestilential, Agrippa cut down the great forests which grew upon the borders of the lake Avernus, and covering it with a very thick shade, hindered the free circulation of the air. By this means, that place so much decried, over which, if we believe the poets, the birds could not fly without feeling the effects of the poisonous exhalations which arose from the lake, and falling down dead, became a healthful, and even an agreeable station. Agrippa, always attentive to give to his chief and benefactor the glory of whatever he undertook, caused this new port to be called the Port of Julius, the name which Octavius had when he was adopted by Julius Cæsar. It was there that he assembled all the new vessels which had been built

Serv. ad  
Virg. Æn.  
iii. 442.

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built in the different ports of Italy, and exercised the twenty thousand rowers and sailors abovementioned.

This royal work, as \* Horace calls it, has been likewise boasted of by Virgil †. I should be very glad of exact and circumstantial historical descriptions, to enable me to give a more just and full description of this port to my readers. But it does not seem to have been long in use. Strabo, who wrote under the emperor Tiberius, makes very little mention of it; and I do not see that, in the history of latter ages, it has been taken much notice of. The face of these places was entirely changed about two hundred years ago, in consequence of an earthquake, which happened in the year 1538, and turned the lake Lucrinus into a mountain of ashes, surrounded entirely with a dirty morass.

The whole year of Agrippa's Consulship passed in making preparations of war against Sextus; who, during all this time, remained entirely quiet, without discovering any signs of life, or trying any means to disturb those preparations which they were making for his ruin.

I must not omit here a pretended omen which about this time happened to Livia, the circumstances of which are very singular, besides that they are warranted by authors of approved credit. Pliny, Suetonius, and Dio, report that Livia, a little while after her marriage with Octavius, going to a country-house which she had in the territory of Veii, an eagle let fall upon her a white hen, which carried in her bill a branch of laurel with its leaves and berries. Livia, struck at this event, consulted the divines; and ordered, con-

\* ——— Sive receptus

Terrâ Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,  
Regis opus.

HOR. A. P. v. 63.

† An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addita claustra?

Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor,  
Julia quâ ponto longè sonat unda refuso,

Tyrrhenuſque fretis immittitur æſtus Avernis? GEOR. II. 161.

formable

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37-

formable to their answer, that the hen should be taken care of, and the laurel planted and cultivated. Their care succeeded; the hen became so fruitful, that she filled the whole poultry-yard with her breed; and the house from thence was called the Hen-house. The laurel too flourished in such a manner, that it furnished branches for all the triumphs of the Cæsars. Suetonius adds, that at the death of Nero, the last Emperor of the race of Augustus, all the fowls died, and the laurel withered. But in this last circumstance he is contradicted by Pliny, who speaks of the plants of this laurel as subsisting at the time when he wrote under the emperor Vespasian.

I see nothing impossible in all this, nor indeed very remarkable, except it is the credulous superstition of those who put an ominous construction on every thing out of the common road. They judged, that this presage promised to Livia, and the house of the Cæsars to which she was joined, an extraordinary prosperity. But there was wanting in the completion of it the greatest mark of resemblance, I mean, her fruitfulness. For Livia had never a child by Augustus, but one who died the moment it was born.



# THE ROMAN HISTORY.

## BOOK THE FIFTY-FIRST.

**S**extus Pompeius overcome, and Lepidus dispossessed by Augustus. The unfortunate expedition of Antony against the Parthians. The death of Sextus. Detached facts. Years of Rome 716—723.

### SECT. I.

*Octavius demands the conjunction of Antony and Lepidus against Sextus. The forces of Lepidus. Antony comes into Italy as an enemy to Octavius. Their quarrel is suppressed by the treaty of Tarentum. Octavius renews the war against Sextus. The lustration of his fleet. Menas leaves him, and returns to his old master. A storm. The fleet of Octavius are very much shattered. Lepidus lands in Sicily. The firmness of Octavius. The negligence of Sextus. Menas returns again to Octavius. The advantage gained by Agrippa over the fleet of Sextus. The political circumspection of Agrippa. Octavius is defeated at sea by Sextus. He runs a very great risk himself. The troops which he had landed in Sicily, escape with great difficulty. The last battle where Sextus*

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*tus is vanquished without resource. He abandons Sicily and flies into Asia. Octavius corrupts the army of Lepidus, and dispossesses him of the Triumvirate. A mutiny among the troops of Octavius. He quashes it by a conduct mixed with indulgence and firmness. A restored crown given by Octavius to Agrippa. Octavius remains master of Sicily, and the provinces of Africa and Numidia. The epocha of the solid establishment of Octavius's grandeur, and at the same time of his new system of conduct, more gentle and moderate.*

**A**FTER the Consulship of Agrippa was expired, those next appointed were Cocceius Nerva, mediator of the treaty of Brundisium, and Gellius Poplicola, thought to be the brother of Messalla, who had formerly been in the party of Brutus and Cassius; had twice conspired against his generals, and owed his life to their clemency, and to the entreaties of his mother and brother.

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L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.

M. COCCEIUS NERVA.

This Consulship is very remarkable in history, for the aggrandisement of Octavius, and the debasing of Antony. Octavius having at last overcome Sextus Pompeius, and afterwards forced Lepidus to abdicate the Triumvirship, became sole master of all the western parts of the Empire. Antony, plunged again into his foolish amours with Cleopatra, undertook inconsiderately, and conducted with precipitation, an expedition against the Parthians; the bad success of which covered him with ignominy. I shall begin with the first of these, which is immediately connected with the facts above related.

Octavius having succeeded ill in his attack upon Sextus, and preparing to return to the charge, was very glad, in order to procure assistance, to make his quarrel against the last branch of the house of the great Pompey, to be looked upon as interesting the whole

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Civil. l. v.  
Dio. l. 18.

Vell. ii. 80.

whole party of Cæsar. He dispatched then Mæcenas to Antony, to demand his conjunction and assistance, and he likewise summoned Lepidus to come with him, and finish the ruin of the opposite faction. He, whatever was his design, and doubtless more to take the advantage of the spoils of Sextus, than to support his colleague, assembled great forces both by sea and land, viz. twelve legions, five thousand Numidian horse, a thousand transports, and seventy vessels of war. We see by this, that his power was very considerable. Two great provinces, Africa, properly so called, and Numidia, obeyed him; and to render himself master of them, would only have cost him the trouble of presenting himself.

For by looking a little backward, the reader will easily call to mind, that Cornificius, at the time of the battle of Philippi, held Africa for the Senate and for the Republican party. Sextus, who possessed Numidia as lieutenant to Octavius, made war against Cornificius; and after various success, at last vanquished and killed him. Thus seeing his authority established in the two provinces, perhaps he had opened his heart to ambitious projects. However that be, he found a new adversary in Fuficius Fango, a soldier of fortune, raised by Cæsar to the rank of Senator, and sent by Octavius to take possession in his name, of the governments of Africa and of Numidia. Sextus opposed the name of Antony to that of Octavius; the war was renewed, and Fango, having been vanquished, killed himself, leaving Sextus once more governor of the two provinces. In this situation of affairs, Lepidus arrived, to whom the district of Africa had been given by his colleagues. It was proper then for Sextus to yield, and the Triumvir reaped the fruit of that brave captain's victories. He remained then retired, as it were, in his province, taking little share in the motions which disturbed the rest of the Empire, till, to his great misfortune, he resolved to pass into Sicily.

Antony



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Plat. Ant.

Appian.

Dio.

Antony was at Athens when he received the deputation from Octavius, and prepared to return to the East to push the war against the Parthians. He thought proper however, in the first place, to make a voyage to Italy, and he went there with a fleet of three hundred vessels. But the authority of Plutarch, and the sequel of the history, give us grounds to believe, that he came rather as an enemy to Octavius, than to give him any assistance. Suspicions, reports, and jealousies, had soured anew the spirits of these two rivals, who were always on their guard against each other. Antony having landed at Tarentum, because the people of Brundisium would not receive him, Octavia, who accompanied him, obtained his leave to go and find her brother, that she might bring about a reconciliation between them.

She made use of the most affecting entreaties to Octavius; and in the presence of Agrippa and Maecenas, who were the most intimate counsellors to the young Triumvir, she conjured him not to suffer that from the most happy of all women she should become the most unfortunate. "Indeed," says she, "all mankind have their eyes fixed upon me, and congratulate me for partaking of the grandeur and glory of two powerful generals, the spouse of one, and the sister of the other. But if the worst resolution is taken, if you must go to war together, it is uncertain which of you will be vanquisher, or vanquished. As for me, my lot in either case is decided, and I must be unhappy."

So tender a speech was very capable of making an impression upon Octavius, who loved his sister. However, I believe, that the motive which inclined both him and Antony effectually to peace, was doubtless that which Dio relates. They had not yet sufficient leisure for war, and their present interest required that they should mutually assist each other in carrying on those designs in which they were engaged. Octavius stood in need of vessels for the war against Sextus, and Antony wanted a reinforcement of soldiers.

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others for the war which he was going to make against the Parthians. Hence rose the pacifick dispositions of the two Triumviri; and after they had taken a resolution to be reconciled, they executed it with the best grace in the world.

Octavius proposed to Antony a conference between Metapontum and Tarentum. Being always more diffident, his plan was to leave between him and his colleague a small river, which would afford him means of security, but would have embarrassed and prolonged the negotiation. Antony, who was of a free and unsuspicious character, when he came near the place, seeing Octavius approach, alighted from his chariot, and jumped into a little boat to pass over the river. Octavius, being struck with this free behaviour, did the same. They met in the river, and there was a struggle betwixt them on which side they should land. At last Octavius carried it, on account of visiting his sister, who was at Tarentum. He lodged there under the same roof with Antony, without guards, and putting himself entirely in his power. Antony, next day, did the same to Octavius. Thus \* these two men passed immediately from one extreme to another in their reciprocal conduct; sometimes suspicious, and even distrustful, on account of their ambition, and sometimes testifying an excessive confidence in each other, as the particular situation of their affairs demanded.

They agreed very easily between themselves and against Sextus. They determined that he should be deprived of the Consulship promised him by the treaty of Misenum; and, in order to make war against him, Antony lent Octavius one hundred and twenty vessels, in lieu of which Octavius furnished Antony with twenty thousand legionary soldiers. Octavia, by whose interposition the negotiation had been begun, wanted, after it was concluded, to confirm it effectually,

\* Οὗτος αὐτῷ ἐν συνῆκεν ἡ μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλίας, ἡ δὲ αὖτις ἐπὶ χεῖρας. APPIAN.

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ally, by a further mutual liberality, which she obtained of each of the Triumviri, in favour of his colleague. According to her desire, there were added by her husband ten light ships of war; and by her brother a thousand chosen men, who were to serve as a guard to Antony. In short, they entered upon the scheme of a double marriage; the one of Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony, with Julia, the daughter of Octavius, who was not three years old; and the other of Antonia, the daughter of Antony and Octavia, who was also quite a child, with the son of Domitius Ahenobarbus. This last marriage took place, and began the alliance between the family of Domitius and Cæsar. But that of Antyllus proved abortive, as we shall see afterwards.

These different articles having been agreed to, they took leave of each other. Antony returned to the East, leaving Octavia in Italy, under pretence of not exposing her to the fatigues and dangers of the war against the Parthians, but in fact, because he began to be weary of so virtuous a woman, and his heart still wandered after Cleopatra. Octavius being recruited with new maritime forces, applied himself entirely to the war against Sexrus.

His hopes were raised very high. Besides that his fleets were very numerous, he had great confidence in the vessels of a new construction, which by their force, strength, and a kind of towers which were built upon them, seemed to give him full assurance of victory. He made a very pompous lustration of the fleet, of which ceremony Appian here gives a description. They raised altars precisely upon the borders of the sea, opposite to which were drawn up the vessels well manned with the soldiers and sailors, who all observed a profound silence. The priests, after having slain the victims, took the entrails, and going on board little skiffs, they made three tours round the fleet, accompanied with the principal commanders, who prayed the gods to let fall upon these victims all the misfortunes which the fleet might be threatened with.

Afterwards



Afterwards the priests threw a part of the entrails into the sea, and the other part they burnt upon the altars.

While Octavius was still making preparations for his expedition, Menas left him to return to his old master. He was doubtless a brave and able officer, but his fickleness, and oddness of character made the loss of him scarcely to be regretted. A more troublesome incident soon followed to render abortive a plan otherwise very wisely concerted.

Sicily seemed to be threatened with being oppressed by three armies, which were preparing to pour in upon her from three different quarters all at once; one from Africa, another from Tarentum, and the third from the coast of Campania. Lepidus had assembled in Africa the forces I have beforementioned; Statius Taurus approached the port of Tarentum, with the vessels lent to Octavius by Antony; and Octavius himself was at the head of his fleet in the port of Lilyæum. On the first of July, a day which he chose as fortunate on account of his adoptive father's name, which this month was called by, these three armies met out by agreement. But a tempest, like that which had ruined the first enterprize, returned to disturb his new well-laid scheme, and rendered useless, at least for a time, these formidable preparations. Lepidus alone, though he was shattered with the storm, nevertheless landed in Sicily, on the coast of Lilyæum. Taurus was obliged to carry his fleet back to Tarentum; and that of Octavius, which had no commodious retreat, was extremely harrassed, not only by the tempest, but by the perfidious Menas, who carried away and burnt several of the vessels which had been separated by the storm.

After such a disaster, a great many counselled Octavius to put off the expedition till next year. But his courage, which was rendered more fierce by obstacles, transported him to say, that he would vanquish, even in spite of Neptune. The murmurs of the people, who suffered at this time by famine, spurred

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red him on. Thus, having sent Mæcenæ to Rome, to keep the people in awe with his presence, and to prevent insurrections, he made them work with such diligence in refitting the shattered vessels, and repairing the loss which he had suffered, that at the end of thirty days he found himself in a condition to renew the war.

Sextus, according to his ordinary custom, so remarkably favoured by the winds and tempests, contented himself with triumphing in the advantages which his good fortune had procured him, instead of making a proper use of them; and believing himself more authorized than ever, to call himself the son of Neptune, he even went so far as to wear his colours, and changed the purple, which the Roman generals used, for a sea-green. He offered to that god solemn sacrifices, and to honour him, threw horses, and some say living men, into the sea.

Thus, while he gave himself up to joy, imagining himself out of all danger for that year, he was greatly surprised to hear that the indefatigable enemy meditated another invasion directly. In order that he might be the more certain of the truth of this intelligence, he detached Menas to observe what passed on the coast of Italy. He who was never pleased with those whom he served, and never thought that they treated him according to his merit, added a third treachery to the preceding, and went over again to Octavius. The Triumvir granted him his life, but was too wise to give any employment to a man whose perfidy rendered him unworthy of the least confidence.

Every thing being ready to invade Sicily anew, Octavius made Taurus's fleet, and his own, commanded by Agrippa, sail at the same time towards it. I shall not enter upon a detail of the operations of this war, of which we have very long, but indistinct accounts. I shall only mention the substance of the facts, which shews, that though Octavius gave proofs of his activity and courage, by exposing himself every where

Dio.  
Appian.

and to the greatest dangers, yet the victory was chiefly owing to the good conduct of Agrippa. A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

This great captain, who had success both by sea and land, began to give a turn to Octavius's affairs, by the advantage he gained in a sea-fight near Myle, now called Milazzo. Sextus's men had the superiority in their experience in working the ships, and the agility of their motions. But the vessels of Agrippa, which were stronger built, higher in the side, and filled with excellent troops, got the better at last, after a very long resistance, of all the skill of the enemy, who could only destroy five of Octavius's ships, and returned with the loss of thirty of their own.

Perhaps Agrippa would have rendered this victory decisive, if he had pursued the vanquished. But he was cautious, either for fear of shoals so very dangerous to vessels, especially in the night-time; or else it was owing to a political reason. For it was one of his maxims, that subalterns ought to take care not to provoke, by too great success, the jealousy of their masters; who, doubtless, do not chuse that they should do any thing to disgrace them, but at the same time take umbrage at the too great splendor of their prosperity. So that if, on the one hand, they ought to be careful to prevent bad success, on the other, they ought to reserve the honour of great victories for the Chief whom they serve under.

Before the fight of Myle, Sextus, who foresaw it, had left Messina, his place of arms, with seventy vessels, to go and assist his lieutenants, whereby the passage of the Streights was left open and unguarded. Octavius laid hold on this opportunity to enter into Sicily; and setting out immediately at the head of Antony's fleet, which waited only for the signal, he landed with three legions near Tauromenium. Sextus's fleet had been beat, but not destroyed, at Myle, and he made all the haste he could to bring it back to Messina. Thus at the first news of the descent of Octavius, he found himself in a condition to march

Taormina.



A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

to him. He then put his vessels to sea, landed his legions, and disposing himself to attack the enemy both by sea and land at the same time, he threw him into a very great disorder.

Capo dell'  
armi.

Octavius resolved to leave his land-forces under the command of L. Cornificius, to whom he gave orders to fortify a camp; and as for himself, going on board the fleet again, he offered battle to that of Sextus, which he thought to have cheap, because it had been defeated. His plan, doubtless, was, after he had dispersed the enemy's fleet, to go to Leucopetra, in order to take up the legions which waited there, commanded by Messala, and to carry them to Sicily to join those of Cornificius. But his hopes in that affair were greatly disappointed. Sextus had found at Messina, both soldiers and sailors, ready to replace those whom he had lost. His fleet, thus recruited, gained a complete victory. The vessels of Octavius were either taken, burnt, or sunk, except a very small number, which not being pursued by Sextus, fled into Italy. Octavius himself run a very great risk, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he saved himself in a boat with a single domestic, without any either of his friends or guards, extremely troubled, and ill at the same time. However, he arrived at last at Messala's camp; where his first care was to dispatch to Cornificius a light vessel, to inform him that his general was safe, and preparing to send him succours. Accordingly he wrote to Agrippa, to assist Cornificius with a speedy reinforcement. Agrippa, taking advantage of the distance of Sextus's forces, had taken possession of the city of Tyndarium, from whence he sent Laronius, at the head of three legions, to make all possible dispatch to deliver Cornificius from so pressing a danger.

In short, Cornificius wanted provisions, and consequently all the bravery of his troops, and the advantage of a well-fortified camp, were thereby rendered absolutely useless. He was obliged to decamp in sight of the enemy, and march his army over a

cor-

## GELLIUS, COCCEIUS, Consuls.

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corner of Sicily, viz. from Tauromenium, on the Ionian sea, as far as Myle, on the sea of Tuscany. It may easily be conceived what difficulties he must meet with, constantly followed and harrassed by Sextus, and having under his care, not only the baggage, but also a number of unarmed soldiers, the unfortunate remains of the last naval engagement, who, naked and destitute of every thing, had found a safe refuge in his camp.

This army in their route met with a very singular obstacle, peculiar to the country through which they marched. This was a kind of earth scorched with the streams of fire which had run down from mount *Ætna*, and extended to the sea. This burnt earth, when it was shaken, by the motion of those who marched over it, raised a suffocating dust; nay, it even burnt the soles of their feet, and kindled an intolerable thirst in their veins. The soldiers were fatigued, overcome, and discouraged. Their chief revived them by his exhortations, and the example of firmness which he shewed them; so that in spite of being extremely exhausted, and of the enemy, who lined the defile where this burning plain terminated, they still pushed on, without allowing themselves to be broke. At last, after four days march, the most fatiguing that can be imagined, they discovered *Laronius*, whose arrival put an end to all their troubles. For *Sextus* taking the detachment, which he saw coming up, for *Agrippa's* whole army, thought proper to retire.

Thus delivered from the fear of the enemy, the soldiers of *Cornificius* met with a new danger, in what ought to have given them the greatest relief. As they had greatly suffered from thirst, they no sooner perceived a fountain than they ran to drink greedily, contrary to the repeated advice of their officers, who recommended it strongly to them not to drink too much. But a great many of them died, gorged with the quantity of water which they swallowed down too hastily.

A.R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

As to the rest, these legions might be looked upon as victorious, not only over the efforts of Sextus, but whatever is superior to human strength, to hunger, thirst, and burning heat. Octavius loaded them with praises and rewards, as soon as he came to join Agrippa at Tyndarium; and Cornificius, their commander, was so proud of having saved them, that he perpetuated rejoicings for it during his whole life, making use of an Elephant in returning home, every time that he supped in the city.

The taking of Tyndarium by Agrippa was an important conquest for Octavius, to whom it secured an entrance into Sicily. This port being open to him, he landed in that island a great number of troops, and augmented his land army, by adding to it one and twenty legions, twenty thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed troops. Then Lepidus, who had till that time kept near Lilybæum, advanced into the country; and the two Triumviri united their forces before the walls of Messina.

There a division very soon arose between them. Lepidus pretending to an equality with Octavius, and the other full of contempt for a colleague of so little merit, wanted to reduce him to the condition of his lieutenant. The indignation which Lepidus conceived at such injurious treatment, made him incline towards Sextus, and enter into a negociation with him. Octavius either suspected this, or else was informed of it; and this motive determined him to finish the war before their treaty should be concluded. If it had not been for this, his interest would have led him to have avoided an action. For he saw himself in a condition to overcome without fighting, considering the great superiority of his forces, and the ease by which he would deprive his enemy of provisions, being master of the country. Sextus, on his part, whose affairs were declining, and who feared, in consequence of that, the desertion both of his officers and troops, was anxious to decide the quarrel by a battle. But it was much more convenient for him



him to fight by sea, than by land. In the first case, he had some hopes of overcoming, whereas his legions could not possibly stand it against Octavius. He therefore proposed a naval engagement to Octavius, who was ashamed to refuse the challenge. The day was set, and the two fleets of three hundred vessels each, commanded by the lieutenants of the two generals, Agrippa on the one side, and on the other Demochares and Apollophanes, a freedman of Sextus, ranged themselves in good order between Myla and Naulochus; while the legions, headed by the generals themselves, were drawn up upon the coast, as spectators of the combat.

The action was very brisk, and the victory a long while doubtful. At last the fleet of Octavius had the better, which was in a great measure owing to the grapples, which we spoke of on occasion of the first naval victory of the Romans. Agrippa had perfected this machine, by means of a great cable fastened at one end to a piece of wood, from which the grapple depended, and at the other to the windlass or capstan, which began to play as soon as the enemy's vessel was hooked, and pulled it with very great violence; so that it was very easy to board her, and then the valour of the soldiers wholly decided the success, which by that means was determined in favour of Octavius.

After a certain number of Sextus's vessels had been thus boarded, fear and disorder spread through all the rest of the fleet, and gave it up as a prey to the enemy. Twenty-eight vessels were sunk to the bottom, and the rest either burnt, shattered against the coast, or taken by the conquerors. Of three hundred of them, there were only seventeen saved, which gained the Streights of Messina; and this great victory cost Octavius no more than the loss of three vessels.

This victory was decisive. Sextus, being entirely deprived of that part of his forces, in which he always placed his chief confidence, thought of nothing but

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but flying; and embarking at Naulochus, he rowed to Messina. His land army, left to the care of his lieutenant, followed their fortunes, and submitted to Octavius. Sextus had still eight legions on the coast of Lilybæum, under the command of Plennius. They were ordered to come to him, not with a design to support the war, but that they might accompany him in his flight.

For before the battle his plan was all concerted, and he had put up in bales all that was valuable belonging to him, in order to retire to the provinces of the East, where he hoped to find protection from Antony. He had formerly given shelter to Julia, the mother of that Triumvir, and he promised himself acknowledgment in return. Indeed Antony had always shewn himself very gentle, and complying with regard to Sextus, and the jealousy which he must have at the aggrandizement of Octavius, was a motive of hope for Sextus, especially if he could arrive in the East in a condition which rendered him above contempt, and might even be looked upon as an useful ally. But he had not time to wait for the legions of Plennius, being frightened at the almost total revolt of his officers and troops over all Sicily, and seeing himself too briskly pursued by Agrippa, who had already entered the Straights, he left Messina with the seventeen vessels, which were saved from the engagement, taking with him his daughter, his friends which remained, and his principal riches. We shall see afterwards what became of him, and how his restless and ungovernable ambition at last occasioned his death.

Octavius having driven Sextus out of Sicily, was nevertheless not entirely master of it. Delivered from one enemy, he found a new one in the person of his colleague. It is true that Lepidus had contributed to the victory, by keeping a part of Sextus's forces employed, and consequently he had a good right to pretend to share the fruits of it. But neither of them could agree about the manner of sharing them. Each

was willing to have the whole ; and between such associates, equal both for avarice and injustice, force was the only way of deciding it.

Lepidus discovered all at once his intentions, by his conduct at the siege of Messina, which immediately followed the victory of Octavius. For Plennius, who arrived too late to depart with Sextus, having shut himself up in that place, was immediately besieged both by sea and land. Lepidus on one side, and Agrippa on the other, deprived him of all resource ; so that he was obliged to capitulate. Agrippa was desirous of waiting for the arrival of Octavius, who remained at Naulochus ; but Lepidus, of his own authority, treated with Plennius, received into his service the legions he commanded, and having joined them to his own, he gave up Messina to be plundered by both.

Octavius came up next morning, fully resolved to make good his right, as being the only true conqueror. Lepidus, who, by the increase of his forces in Sicily, had now about twenty-two legions, thought himself in a condition to make head against Octavius, and fortified for himself a camp on a rising-ground, at a little distance from Messina. There they expostulated reciprocally with each other, which only served to sour their spirits, and demonstrate the impossibility of an agreement. Lepidus insisted that Sicily ought to belong to him, because he had entered it first, and the greatest number of the towns had been reduced by his arms. He observed besides, which was very true, that even Sicily added to his share, would not make it equal to either of his colleagues. These reasons, as you may easily believe, had no effect upon Octavius, who did not pretend that he had vanquished for Lepidus, and only regarding him as an auxiliary, absolutely refused to allow him any share in the conquest. Their division then became without disguise ; the two chiefs prepared to act against each other, and a fresh civil war was expected to break out.

But



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But the inequality was too great between the merits and talents of the two Triumviri, for the balance to remain a moment uncertain. Lepidus was despised even by those who marched under his colours. His want of capacity, and narrowness of genius, appeared still more conspicuous, when compared with the ambition, firmness, and courage of his rival. Thus they did not come to blows, Octavius disdaining to employ force against such an adversary. Cunning and artifice, which he so well knew how to manage, ruined his adversary's power all at once.

He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Lepidus's army, with regard to their general, and particularly that the legions of Sextus, which made a considerable part of this army, were not satisfied with their situation, while they had no security for what had been granted by the capitulation of Messina, except the word of the weakest of the two Triumviri, without being assured of the consent of the other. Having then sounded their officers by means of emissaries, and found them in the same sentiment as he wished, he took with him a large body of cavalry, advanced towards the camp of Lepidus, and having left without it the greatest part of his escort, he entered, accompanied with a small number of horse, as if he had only pacific intentions, and no other view than that of negotiating an agreement. In traversing the camp, he took all those he met to witness of his good dispositions of peace, and the necessity he was reduced to in spite of himself to make war. This stratagem of his succeeded at once. A great many of them saluted him as their general, and especially the soldiers who had served under Sextus ran to him to ask him pardon; but he answered, they had yet done nothing to deserve it. This language they understood very well, and immediately manifested their inclination to go over to him, by bringing away their colours, and striking their tents to follow him.

Lepidus

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Lepidus being informed of this motion, came immediately to check it, and, finding his enemy ill-attended, made his soldiers draw upon him. Octavius's shield-bearer was killed by his side, and he himself being wounded with an arrow, which his breast-plate rebuffed and hindered to penetrate, he \* retired as quick as he could to the cavalry, which he had left at the entry of the camp. Some of Lepidus's soldiers, who occupied a small fort, made a jest of his flight, which he immediately revenged by making his men attack it, who never left it till they had carried it by force. This example intimidated the commanders of the other forts which flanked the camp of Lepidus, or at least served them for a pretence; and all of them at that time, or during the night, surrendered to Octavius, some of them at a simple summons, and others after having suffered a slight attack for form sake.

Next day Octavius went out of the lines of battle with his whole army, without doubt knowing very well what would happen; for at his approach, the desertion became general among the troops of Lepidus. At first the old soldiers of Sextus, and afterwards all the rest filed off, and came to range themselves under the colours of the young Triumvir. They were all so determined in their resolution, that Lepidus offering to lay hold of the colours to stop the desertion, and declaring that he would never part with them as long as he lived, a soldier was insolent enough to answer him, "Very well, you will part with them then when you die;" and was going to stab him, if the unfortunate general had not quitted his hold.

The cavalry, which remained last with Lepidus, as if they wanted to excuse their delay by a greater

\* Velleius says, that Octavius carried off with him the standard of a legion, and made the whole army of Lepidus follow him. This instance of daringness appears to me less in the character of Octavius, than that conduct which Appian attributes to him. I shall therefore confine myself to this last author, whose account is besides more circumstantial.

A. R. 716:  
Ant. C.  
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piece of treachery, sent to ask Octavius, if they should bring him his enemy dead or alive. Lepidus was not a rival formidable enough for Octavius to desire his death. He ordered them to spare him; and soon after Lepidus, having laid aside all the ornaments which were no longer agreeable to his fortune, presented himself before him humble and suppliant, and asking him to spare him. Octavius granted him his life, and having despoiled him of the triumphs, he banished him to Cerceii in Italy, where he allowed him to pass the remainder of his days in a private and obscure condition. Only he respected the law which rendered the high-priestship perpetual, and he suffered him to enjoy that sacred dignity as long as he lived.

This last condition agreed better with Lepidus, than that \* grandeur to which the fortuitous course of circumstances had raised him, without having any of the qualities necessary to support the weight of it. In that station he had only been the jest of his colleagues; and when he was deprived of it, if he did not lose his life at the same time, the contempt of his weakness was alone his security.

Octavius having now no more enemy nor competitor in Sicily, ruled every thing according to his own mind. He still followed his own maxim here, to cut off the heads of the vanquished party, and only to grant pardon to the multitude. The Senators and Roman knights who had fought for Sextus, were all put to death, excepting a very few. The troops he took into his service, and as to the towns and people of the island, they were punished, or rewarded, according as they had deserved well, or ill, of him. He gave himself no trouble in pursuing Sextus, from whom he had nothing to fear, and who besides was got out of his reach, having retired into the territories which were under the obedience of Antony.

\* Vir omnium vanissimus, nec ullâ virtute tam longam fortunæ indulgentiam meritus.—Ad dissimilimam vitæ suæ fortunam pervenerat Lepidus. VELL. II. 80.



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Nay, perhaps Octavius, who was a profound politician, was not displeased that his colleague should grant retreat and protection to the ancient enemy of all Caesar's party, which might presently furnish a pre-  
 ence for a rupture with him. For it is not to be doubted, but from the moment he saw himself left alone with Antony, of all the generals who had shared the forces and provinces of the Republic, after the death of Caesar, he prepared to destroy that only rival, whose ruin must render him master of the whole empire.

But these views were still at a considerable distance. A present misfortune, and which even sprung from the greatness of his power, put him into great disorder, and engaged his whole attention. Having augmented his forces with those of Sextus and Lepidus, he saw under his command, formidable armies both of sea and land forces; forty-five legions, twenty-five thousand horse, different corps of light troops, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, together with three hundred vessels of war. This frightful number of soldiers was assembled in a small compass, and he could see at one glimpse of his eye his whole force. A dangerous situation for a chief, of whom the soldiers disdained to receive his orders, when he was ready to give them out. A fierce army so very numerous becomes impossible to be disciplined, and will not stoop to desire by entreaties, what they can obtain by terror. This was precisely the situation of Octavius. The troops which had rendered him so great services mutinied, demanded their discharge, and the same rewards as those conferred on his victorious soldiers at Philippi. The insolence of the mutineers was so much the greater, as they foresaw the war against Antony inevitable, and were sensible of the need their general would have of them.

It was neither possible to satisfy them, nor to subdue them by authority. Octavius try'd to make them change their minds, either by referring them to Antony, whose consent he alledged was necessary in an affair

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affair of that importance, and which interested in common the soldiers of both Triumviri; or by exciting the seditious to acquire a rich spoil, and a glory pure and free from all stain, by a war against foreigners, the Illyrians, and Dalmatians, who, taking advantages of the divisions among the Romans, made inroads upon the empire; or in fine, by proposing to them rewards of honour, crowns of different kinds, and to the Tribunes and Centurions the right of wearing the Pretexta, and the rank of Senators in the towns where they were born. But all these fine speeches had no effect; the soldiers never lost sight of the object of their wishes; and a Tribune, named Ofilius, had the boldness to raise his voice, and to say, that crowns and pretexta were fit to amuse children, but for soldiers there must be money and lands to settle them. What he said was applauded, and Octavius, in a passion, saw nothing better to be done than to descend from his Tribunal, and retire from the assembly. Ofilius became the more bold upon this, and as others who followed his impressions, taxed their companions, who were more moderate, with indifference for the common cause, he cried out that he had no need of assistance, he alone being sufficient to obtain the execution of such just demands. This insolence of his did not remain unpunished. The seditious Tribune presently vanished, without any person being able to discover what was become of him. This example, which gave every one to understand what he had to fear, rendered the mutineers more circumspect, but not more tractable. There was none after this that singly exposed themselves, but all together, or in considerable bodies, they persisted in demanding their discharge.

Octavius had not that heroick elevation of sentiment, by which his great uncle was capable with one word to reduce his mutinous legions to their duty. Besides he was but young, and possessed no extraordinary degree of warlike merit, a quality which imposes the most upon troops. He was sensible, however,

ever, of the necessity of a firm behaviour; and that at once, if he should shew himself too mild, he must lose his authority for ever. He took therefore a method between the two extremes, agreeable to his character, which was more prudent and artful, than noble and elevated. He granted a discharge to twenty thousand of the oldest soldiers, whom he obliged immediately to depart the island, for fear they should nourish a spirit of sedition among the rest.

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Afterward, having assembled the army, which was still very numerous, he protested that he would never take back to his service, were they even to beseech him in the most pressing manner, those who had left him against his will; and that further, he would not give to all of them the rewards which they flattered themselves with, but only to those who should be judged worthy of them, after a severe examination of their conduct. He then began to praise the fidelity of the troops, which still remained with him; promised them, that in a little time he would grant them both the repose and settlements which they had merited by their good service; and in pledge of this promise, the execution of which was at some distance, he ordered an immediate distribution of five hundred Denarii a head, in order to which, he imposed upon Sicily a tax of sixteen hundred talents (three hundred thousand pounds). By means of this conduct, mixed with indulgence and firmness, Octavius appeased the mutiny, which might have rendered the victories he had obtained fatal to him.

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When all was quieted, he distributed military gifts to the soldiers and officers, who had distinguished themselves by their bravery. There was none more honoured, or who deserved it better, than Agrippa. He received for a reward, and as a monument of the naval victory which he had so great a share in, a crown of gold, which had for its rays the prows of

\* Agrippa — — —

cui, belli insignae superbum,

Tempora navali fulgent rostrata coronâ. VIRG. ÆN. VIII.

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A. R. 716.  
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vessels. A great many authors affirm, that he was the first who had this glorious mark of honour bestowed upon him. But I have already related, from Pliny's authority, that the learned Varro had been honoured with it before, in the war against the pirates. However, it is not very surprising that the name of Agrippa should obscure that of Varro, in the glory of arms.

Octavius before he departed from Sicily, established a Pro-prætor to govern the island in his name. He also seized the spoil of Lepidus; and Statilius Taurus went by his orders, with some troops, to take possession for him of Africa, properly so called, and Numidia, both which had belonged to the dispossessed Triumviri. With regard to Antony's vessels he sent them back faithfully, and even took care to replace those which had been lost in the operations of the war. After he had finished those dispositions, he set out and returned to Italy with all his forces.

This, properly speaking, is the epocha when Octavius's grandeur began to be established on a solid foundation. For till now, his affairs had always been wavering, and he was always surrounded and pushed at by enemies and rivals. But now the whole West submitted to his command, and at the same time the publick esteem and admiration were determined in his favour. They could not refuse those sentiments to such glorious success, especially considering he was so very young. Four wars brought to a happy conclusion, at Modena, Philippi, Perusia, and in Sicily; the total destruction of the Republican party and that of Pompey; the power of Sextus, and that of Lepidus united to his own; and all this executed at the age of twenty-eight: these were powerful motives to inspire a veneration for him, which being once established, increased ever afterwards, and was none of the least foundations of his power.

They gave him the first testimony of it on his return from the expedition into Sicily. The Senate went a great way out of Rome in a body to meet him,

each

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each Senator wearing a crown upon his head, as a sign of joy and congratulation. They had before decreed to him the greatest honours, leaving it to himself, either to accept of them all, or to chuse such as should be most agreeable to him. He accepted of the ovation, or little triumph, the establishment of an annual feast in honour of his victory, and a gilded statue set up in the Forum, where he is represented in a triumphal habit, the pedestal adorned with prows of vessels, with this inscription: FOR HAVING RESTORED PEACE A LONG TIME DISTURBED BOTH BY SEA AND LAND. He entered Rome with the modest pomp of the ovation the day of the ides of November. Fatti capit.

These exploits, considered in themselves, certainly deserved the great triumph; and I can see no reason that should have hindered him to take it, except it was the meanness of the enemies he had vanquished. For it must be observed, that the name of Sextus ought not to appear here. It would have exasperated the Romans, and made them hate him too much, to see him triumph nominally over the son of Pompey. But after Sextus was defeated, almost all those who had followed him were either fugitive slaves, or pirates, commanded by freedmen. It was then in some measure a war against slaves, for which the glory of a triumph would have been too magnificent, and a victory over which was sufficiently recompenced by an ovation.

Octavius contented himself with it, and added several other instances of moderation and gentleness, by which he discovered plainly, that he wanted to make amends for the tyrannical proceedings and cruelties, which at first had brought upon him the hatred and detestation of the publick. In the speeches which he made both to the Senate and people, after having testified his acknowledgment for the honours decreed to him, he promised peace and tranquillity in Italy as the fruit of his victory, which, he said, had now put an end to all civil wars. For he industriously concealed his design against Antony, which it was

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not time yet to discover. He did not repeat those speeches, but read them; a method which he observed upon all important occasions; and he distributed copies of them over the city, to make all the citizens as it were witnesses, and depositaries of the engagements he had contracted, and which he also fulfilled. He abolished some duties, and remitted all that was due of the taxes established during the war.

The people, who for a long time had suffered the horrors of a civil war, charmed with beginning to breathe again, and willing to recompence him to whom they were obliged for the agreeableness of their new situation, offered him the high-priestship, with which Lepidus was invested. Octavius still supported the character of moderation, which he bound himself to as a law; and refused that office, though very important and illustrious, but of which the incumbent was not to be deprived of, as long as he lived. Some went even so far, as to propose to him the strange expedient of destroying Lepidus, as an enemy to the publick; but he rejected this with horror, declaring that he would never open the way to usurpation by murder.

He further gained the affection of the citizens by the conduct which he observed with regard to the great number of slaves which Sextus had drawn into Sicily, and incorporated with his troops by giving them their liberty. Though this liberty had been confirmed by the treaty of Misenum, Octavius did not think himself obliged to observe, with regard to those wretches, to the prejudice of their masters and the good of the Republick, a promise which had been extorted from him by a kind of violence. He sent to the several places where his legions had their winter quarters, letters which were opened all in one day, containing orders to seize all the fugitive slaves. The order was executed without any tumult; and after the prisoners had been brought to Rome, they were examined in order to be returned to their old masters;

and



and those whose masters could not be found, Octavius <sup>A. R. 716.</sup> caused to be executed in the towns from whence they <sup>Ant. C.</sup> fled. <sup>36.</sup>

Another object very worthy of his attention, were the companies of robbers, which had formed themselves under favour of the licence and confusion of the war. They formed, in a manner, small armies, which might be said rather to commit hostilities, than simple robberies, both in Rome, Italy, and Sicily. Sabinus, charged by Octavius with the care of putting a stop to those terrible robberies, destroyed the whole race of those wretches in the space of one year. Peace and safety were again established upon the highways, and in the towns; and the people were so sensible of it, that they consecrated the author of it amongst their titular Gods.

Octavius appeared then entirely employed in the good of the publick, and wholly possessed with pacific schemes. He burnt those letters and papers which might be monuments of past divisions, and kept a great many of the citizens in disquietude. He left the annual magistrates to exercise their function, and regulate those affairs which belonged properly to their offices. In fine, he went so far as to make people hope, that he would abdicate the triumvirship in concert with Antony, as soon as he should return from the war against the Parthians. This last promise was only a feint, but it gave great joy to the nation, which was always attached to a Republican government. The Senate, in order to engage Octavius to keep his word, and give him, as it were, a compensation in exchange for the triumvirship, offered to make him perpetual Tribune as long as he lived. By this title, his person would be rendered sacred and inviolable; and he would acquire the power of hindering any thing to be done in the city against his will. But he had no mind to renounce the command of the army, which constituted all his force. Thus he kept himself reserved with regard to the proposition of the Senate, neither judging it proper to accept

A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

the tribuneship, which would have disarmed him, nor to join it to the triumvirship, for fear of provoking Antony's jealousy. Nevertheless it did not appear that he had absolutely refused it, but put it off till a more convenient time.

In order that Rome might be sensible in every respect of the return of better fortune, it was likewise in this same year, that Octavius began to embellish it with new and lofty buildings. One of the great objects in the whole remainder of his life and reign, was to adorn the capital of the universe, in a manner worthy of the dignity of that title; and in this he pushed his magnificence so far, that he boasted he had received a Rome of brick, and had left it all of marble. But at the time in which I speak, the first work which he began the execution of his scheme, was an apartment for himself. He had chosen for a situation the mount Palatine, and caused his managers to purchase several houses of private persons, which formed a piece of ground of no great extent. He there built a house of a moderate size, which took its name from the hill upon which it stood, and was called Palatium, from whence is derived the word Palace in our language. But he would not be reproached with labouring only for himself. Upon occasion of a thunder which had burst on a spot of ground which he had purchased, the divines were consulted, and having answered that that place was claimed by a God, Octavius built there a temple of the finest marble to Apollo, whom he always honoured as his tutelary God. He joined to it a library, which was extremely proper in the temple of the God of arts; and all about he raised portico's for the use and convenience of the publick.

Vell. II.  
81.

Suet. Aug.  
19. & 72.

Hor. Sat.  
I. 4. & 10.  
Epist. I.  
3. & II. 2.  
A. P. v.  
387.

The library of Palatine Apollo, as this was called, was not only appointed to contain a collection of books, which did honour to the taste of its master,

\* Urbem—excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriatus marmoream se reliquere, quam lateritiam accepisset. Suet. Aug. 29.

and

and was an assistance to men of learning; Octavius made also a kind of academy of it, where there were judges to examine the new works of poetry, and those which truly deserved to be transmitted to posterity, were honourably placed in the library, with a portrait of the author. A very powerful encouragement for the arts, which glory especially nourishes and carries to perfection. Octavius loved them, as great princes have always done. He cultivated them himself, and those who distinguished themselves in them, were sure of his protection. Thus it is very well known how much they flourished under his government, which became the epocha and standard of good taste.

There is no need of mentioning, that all these great works were not compleated the same year, whose transactions I am now mentioning, but that they were projected and begun at that time; and it is of some importance to remark the date of them, because they entered into the new system of conduct which Octavius formed to himself, after he saw his power sufficiently established. Till that time he was unjust and cruel, which the satisfying his ambition forced him to, but afterwards gentle, moderate, and beneficent, as soon as he had reason to be contented with his fortune.

This character of gentleness appeared farther in the distribution of lands, which he had to make to the veteran soldiers. You may remember what a terrible disorder that affair had occasioned after the battle of Philippi, over all Italy; but now it was executed in a peaceable manner. The funds which were designed for the soldiers, either belonged to the Republick, or were faithfully purchased and paid for, whether they belonged to private persons, or to corporations. Thus, for example, the colony of Capua being very thinly inhabited, possessed in common a great extent of ground, which never belonged to any particular proprietor. Octavius there established his veterans. But in order to satisfy the colony, he gave them in

vell. II.  
81.  
Dio.



A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.  
6250 l.

the island of Crete funds of a much larger revenue, and which brought them in twelve hundred thousand sesterces a year. And further he added a great and useful ornament to the town of Capua itself, by making an aqueduct to supply them with plenty of pure water.

By making such a wise use of his power and fortune, Octavius confirmed himself in the esteem and affection of the Romans against Antony, who, on the contrary, at the same time did every thing possible to make himself the object of their hatred and contempt. This will appear in the account which I am going to give of his expedition against the Parthians, which was unfortunate through his fault, and the bad success of which was in itself less shameful, than the cause which had produced it. But I must begin by taking things nearer their source.

## S E C T. II.

*The violent grief of Orodes for the death of his son Pacorus. He chuses Phraates for his successor. Phraates causes his father, brothers, eldest son, and several grandees of the kingdom to be put to death. Antony's passion for Cleopatra is renewed. His unjust and immense liberalities towards her. Antony's preparations for a war. He goes into Armenia, the king of which was his ally. The force of his army. The faults which his passion for Cleopatra makes him commit. He lays siege to Praaspa, the capital of the king of the Medes. The kings of the Medes and Parthians cut in pieces two of his legions. The king of Armenia abandons him. Antony engages in a battle, where he puts to flight the Parthians, but causes a very small loss to them. He returns before Praaspa, in besieging of which he has very bad success. Deceived by the Parthians, who promised peace and safety to him, he prepares to retreat. Being informed of the perfidy of the Parthians, instead of marching along the plain, he gains the mountains. Divers*

vers combats, where the Parthians are repulsed. The temerity of a Roman officer makes the Parthians gain a considerable advantage. The admirable conduct of Antony with regard to his soldiers. Their love of him. New battles, where the Romans regain the superiority. Their army is distressed with famine. A very singular and fatal disease, caused by the use of an unknown herb. A new perfidy of the Parthians, from which Antony escapes, by means of intelligence given him from the enemies army. The Romans suffer extremely from thirst. A river whose waters were very unwholesome. A terrible confusion occasioned by the fury of the Roman soldiers, who plunder their own camp. The last battle against the Parthians. The joy of the Romans when they saw themselves again in Armenia. Antony's foolish hurry to get back to Cleopatra. A false and ostentatious account sent by Antony to Rome. Honours which are decreed to him. The last adventures and fatal death of Sextus Pompeius. The wars of Octavius in Illyrium. The personal bravery of Octavius. The Salassi subdued by Valerius. The exploits of M. Crassus against the Mysians, and the Bastarnæ. The ædileship of Agrippa. Agrippa and Mæcenas chief friends, confidents, and ministers of Octavius. Statues erected to Livia and Octavia. The Portico of Octavia. The triumphs of Statilius Taurus and Sosius. New Patricians. The death of Atticus. Succession of the Consulship from the year 718 to the year 721.

THE death of Pacorus, who was killed in the last battle which Ventidius had gained over the Parthians, threw Orodes, the father of the young prince, into such a violent grief as almost degenerated into madness. During the first six days he would neither see any body, nor take any nourishment. Shut up in a dark place, and keeping an obstinate silence, if he spoke at all, it was only repeating dolefully the name of Pacorus. Frequently he thought he spoke to him, heard him, and saw him by him. But presently returning to himself, and recalling to mind, that

Justin.  
XLII. 4.  
& 5.

A. R. 716. that Pacorus was no more, he wept for him bitterly.  
Ant. C. 36.

This violent grief was only appeased to give place to a cruel disquiet, which tormented him upon the subject of the choice of a successor, a title which was left vacant by the death of Pacorus. He had by different wives thirty sons, who all aspired to the throne, and, seconded by their mothers, fatigued by their important solicitations the spirits of the weak old man. In short, after having continued in suspense a long while, Orodes unfortunately, both for himself and the Parthians, determined in favour of Phraates, the eldest of them all, but by far the most wicked.

Scarcely did Phraates see himself secured in the succession to the throne, than he was impatient to enjoy it; and finding that his father kept him from it too long, he caused him to be put to death. You may easily judge that he would no more spare the lives of his brothers, who were an umbrage to him, and some of which had titles preferable to him, by the nobility of their mothers; whereas Phraates was born of an obscure woman. Even the eldest of his own sons, who happened to be of an age capable of giving him suspicion, was sacrificed to his jealousy.

Plut. Ant.  
Dio.

The grandees of the kingdom, alarmed and irritated at such a barbarity, which extended itself likewise to them, and took off all the heads of the first of the nobility, made dispositions for a revolt, which the Romans might easily have taken the advantage of. But Antony was at that time in Italy, and Sosius, who commanded for him in Syria, had learned by the example of Ventidius, not to pursue too splendid a glory, which might eclipse that of his general. Thus the Parthian nobility, who were disconcerted at the government of Phraates, not being supported, saw themselves obliged to fly into different countries. But Monefes, one of the most illustrious and powerful amongst them, went over to Antony.

The Triumvir had set out from Italy, as we have said, when Octavius prepared to make the last effort against



against Sextus and Sicily. \* It was then that the fatal passion for Cleopatra, which had been repressed and quieted by a return of reflection and wisdom after his marriage with Octavia, awoke in his breast. It had only been asleep, and by no means subdued. After a very short interval, during which reason seemed to have got the upper hand; in short, to make use of the expression of Plato, adopted by Plutarch, that intractable companion of the soul, that rebellious slave, which too frequently, instead of receiving law from its sovereign, abuses and tyrannizes over him, entirely shook off the yoke. Antony, on approaching to Syria, dispatched Fonteius Capito, with orders to bring to him the queen of Egypt.

She arrived; and as if he wanted to make a reparation for his past coolness, and efface the remembrance of it by unbounded liberality, he made her immense presents. He added to her kingdom Phenicia, besides Tyre and Sidon, Coelosyria, that province of Judea which produces balm, and a part of the country of Arabia Felix. All these countries were possessed by different little princes, under the protection of the Romans. Antony made no scruple of defrauding those who enjoyed them, provided he could satisfy the unsatiable avarice of her whom he loved. He even yielded to her the rights which the Republick had over the island of Cyprus, and Cyrene, which were formerly dependent on the crown of Egypt. The Romans were very much shocked at these indecent liberalities, the occasion of which was so shameful; although Antony endeavoured to put a good colour upon it, saying, that the grandeur of the Roman nation appeared less in what it possessed, than in what it gave away to its allies.

Joseph.  
Antiq.  
XV. 4.  
& de B.  
Jud. I. 13.  
Plut.  
Dio.

\* Εὐδαιμονία δὲ ἡ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν χρόνον πολλόν ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔργον, δακρυῶν κατείνανθαι καὶ λαλῶν καὶ τοῖς Κατασκευάζοντες λογισμοῖς, ἑαυτῶν ἀνταρμυρῶν ἢ ἀνταρμυρῶν, Συρία πλεονάζοντες αὐτῇ ἢ τίλος, ὥσπερ φασὶν ὁ Πλάτων, τὸ δυσπισθίως ἢ ἀκόλαστον ψυχῇ πλεονάζοντες ἀσυντακτικῶς τὰ καλὰ ἢ συντάξις πάντα, κατείνανθαι φασὶν ἑαυτῶν ἀνταρμυρῶν καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Συρίαν. PLUT. ANT.

A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

Mean while, he did not forget his great project against the Parthians, from which he promised himself the most glorious success. The terror of his name and arms had reached as far as Caucasus on the Caspian sea, by the victories which Ventidius his lieutenant had gained over the kings of Spain and Albania; and he expected a great deal from Monefes, a man of considerable importance, both on account of his merit and capacity, as well as of his high rank and birth; and whose retreat must consequently weaken the Parthians, and procure him the most certain directions for conducting his enterprize. Wherefore he gave this nobleman a most honourable reception; and as he was proud, and loved pomp and ostentation, he compared Monefes to Themistocles, himself to the great king of Persia, and in order to render the resemblance compleat, he gave to the fugitive Parthian three \* towns of Syria for his subsistence, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis. Nay, he even promised him the throne of Arsacides. But all these fine ideas presently vanished. Phraates, who was sensible how much such a fugitive must have it in his power to hurt him, omitted no means to regain him; and Monefes, upon the assurance of impunity, and an entire re-establishment in all his goods and rights, returned again to his king, and thus frustrated Antony's expectation. We shall see, however, afterwards, this Parthian nobleman doing good service to the Roman army.

Antony, though he was piqued at seeing himself abandoned by Monefes, left him at full liberty to retire. One part of his plan was to amuse Phraates by a negotiation, and by hopes of peace, in order to surprise him by a sudden attack, which would not allow him time to prepare himself. If we may believe Florus, there was even a treaty in form drawn up between Antony and the king of the Parthians, which must

Flor. iv.  
10.

\* Thus Artaxerxes had given three towns to Themistocles, one for his bread, another for his wine, and the third for his meat. See Antient History, book vii. §. 2.

convict the Roman general of an inexcusable piece of perfidy. But to confine ourselves to the simple recital of Plutarch and Dio, we cannot excuse him from fraud and artifice. According to these historians, he sent an embassy to Phraates, to demand of him the restitution of the colours taken at the defeat of Crassus, as also those prisoners who remained alive; and without waiting for an answer, having taken leave of Cleopatra, he advanced towards Armenia, where was the general rendezvous of his troops.

Artabazes, king of Armenia, son of Tigranes, an ally of the Romans, was at that time at war with another Artabazes, king of the Atropatenian \* Medes, an ally of Phraates. Antony came then, as it were, to succour the king of Armenia, whilst it may be conjectured (for authors are not sufficiently explicit upon this point) that he avoided acting directly against the Parthians, either to lull them, if possible, into a false security, till having subdued Media, he might be in a condition to enter suddenly into the heart of their country; or not to appear openly to violate his faith, by attacking a prince with whom he either made a treaty of peace, or at least was in terms about it. This, however, is certain, that his intention was not bounded in defending the king of Armenia, nor in making an invasion on the country of the Medes, but that it was the Parthians whom he wanted to make war against.

The forces which he had assembled, were sufficient to prove the greatness of his designs. He reviewed them in Armenia, and found them to consist of seventy thousand Roman infantry, ten thousand Spanish and Gaulish horse, to which were added thirty thousand

\* They distinguished Media at that time into two, the great Media, and the Atropatenian. The great Media, which had Ecbatana for its capital, made a part of the empire of the Parthians. The Atropatenian Media was a province of the old kingdom of the Medes, and took its name from Atropatros, who had preserved it from the Macedonian yoke. Atropatros was elected king in acknowledgment of his good service, and the succession was continued down in his posterity, which was still subsisting in the time of Strabo.



A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

auxiliary troops, which were furnished to him by the kings his allies.

Nevertheless, this powerful army, which spread the alarm as far as Bactria and the Indies, and put Asia in a violent commotion, was rendered useless by the foolish passion of Antony for Cleopatra. For being desirous of passing the winter with her, he hastened to begin the operations of war too soon, and conducted himself in every thing with precipitation, not behaving like himself, nor master of his reason, but as if he had been enchanted by some delusion, turning incessantly his looks towards Egypt, and more engaged to return speedily, than to vanquish his enemies.

He began then by a very remarkable fault, taking the field all at once, though the season was far advanced, and his troops, after a march of above three hundred leagues, had great need of rest. He was advised to give them time to recover from their fatigue, and even to pass the winter in Armenia, to be in a condition to attack Media the beginning of the next spring, before the army of the Parthians could be assembled. But he could not suffer that delay; he wanted to march immediately, and entering into Atropatena, which was the kingdom of Artabazes, he plundered it, and there began his hostilities.

The second fault, which was owing to the same principle, was, that finding his march retarded by the machines of war, which followed the army in three hundred waggons, he left them by the way under the guard of two legions, commanded by Oppius Sabinus; and as to himself, he advanced with all speed and laid siege to Praaspa, the capital of Atropatena in Media, imagining he should make an easy conquest of that place, and of the whole country, because the king was absent, and engaged with Phraates elsewhere. But the town was strong and well fortified, and from the first operations of the siege, Antony had reason to be sensible, how much he was in the wrong, for not carrying with him his warlike ma-

chines

machines; especially a battering ram of fourscore feet long, which would have been of great use to them. For that whole country produced very bad wood, which had neither strength nor height, and consequently could not be employed for the construction of machines, such as the necessity of the service required. Antony then was obliged to throw up terraces in order to raise the besiegers as high as the walls, which was a work both long and very laborious.

As soon as the kings of the Medes and Parthians had advice of the siege of Praaspa, they approached towards Antony. But being in little pain for a town so well defended, and so ill attacked, instead of marching straight to that general, they altered their route, and surprised Statianus. The troops which that officer commanded, were cut in pieces, and there remained ten thousand dead upon the spot. Statianus himself was also killed, and all the machines taken and burnt. Polemon, king of Pontus, escaped alone from the slaughter, the Parthians having spared him, in hopes of extorting a large ransom from him, as they actually did. So considerable a loss, at the beginning of a great and important enterprise, chagrined Antony very much; and very soon after, the Armenian Artabazes gave him new cause of trouble and inquiet by leaving him, and retiring into his kingdom with his troops, which amounted to sixteen thousand horse, and seven thousand foot. The perfidy of that prince was still more provoking to him, as it was accompanied with ingratitude, because it was to defend him, and revenge his cause, that the Romans had come into that country.

Mean while, the victorious Parthians advanced towards Praaspa, and taking the first advantage as a certain omen of success for the future, already threatened insolently the Roman army; but, however, without putting themselves within reach of the infantry, which they greatly feared. Antony apprehended that if he suffered patiently these insults, and left his troops

A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

troops in inaction, which would appear to be no better than an acknowledgment of weakness, his mood would be discouraged. He resolved therefore to endeavour to bring on a battle; and with this view he went out of his lines with ten legions, three Prætorian Cohorts, and all his cavalry, as for a general forage, hoping that the enemy would follow him, and give him an opportunity of engaging with them.

In short, after one day's march, he discovered the Parthian army, which was ranged in form of a crescent near the road where he was to pass. He then displayed in his camp the signal of battle, which was, as we have observed elsewhere, a purple coat of arms spread over the general's tent. But in order to deceive the Parthians, and make them continue in their post, he caused the tents to be struck, as if he had designed to continue his march, and not to engage. He set out then in sight of the enemy, having given orders to his cavalry, to fall back immediately, as soon as they should be within reach of being attacked by the legions. It was a sight worthy of admiration for the Parthians to behold the Roman army defiling towards them. As they neither observed, nor were acquainted with any kind of discipline, they beheld with surprize this whole multitude advancing towards them in the most beautiful order, separated by equal intervals, and the soldiers marching without noise or tumult, brandishing their demi-pikes which they had in their hands.

Immediately the signal was given, and the Roman cavalry wheeling about, rushed in upon the Barbarians, who did not expect them, with loud cries. Nevertheless, they sustained this shock, though they had not room to make use of their arrows. But when the infantry approached, accompanying their cries with the noise of the spears striking upon their bucklers, the Parthian cavalry took fright, and the riders themselves fled before they could engage. Antony pursued them very keenly, imagining he had obtained a decisive victory. But after his infantry had pursued

them



them as far as two leagues beyond the field of battle, and the cavalry fix, upon examining the enemy that were killed or taken, they found only fourscore dead and fifty taken prisoners. Upon this their joy was greatly mortified, and the Romans felt very sensibly a war, in which, when they were victorious, they caused so little loss to the enemy, and when they were defeated, suffered as much as those who were routed under Stianus.

Next day, Antony having prepared himself to return before Praaspa, the Parthians appeared again, at first in a small body, afterwards their number increased, and at last their whole army being assembled, as fresh and as full of vigour and boldness as they were the preceding day, harrassed and fatigued Antony's troops, by brisk and frequent repeated attacks; and it was with a great deal of trouble and danger that the Romans regained their camp.

Very soon after, the besieged made a successful sally, and the troops which were opposed to them, shamefully took flight. Antony, irritated at this bad success, decimated the guilty cohorts, and caused barley, instead of wheat, to be distributed to those soldiers whose good fortune had exempted them from punishment.

This situation of the Romans was exceeding troublesome, and they saw themselves threatened with still more terrible consequences. For they could go no more to forage, nor get any provisions without fighting for them, and they had always a great many killed and wounded. Thus to the fear of the enemy, was added that of famine. Phraates, on his part, was not without disquiet; for the first colds of autumn began already to be felt, and he knew that the Parthians were neither accustomed nor inclined to keep the field in winter; so that if the Romans should persevere, he suspected he might be abandoned by his troops, and obliged to retire. To avoid which inconvenience, he had recourse to artifice, and endeavoured

A. R. 716. vowed to deceive Antony by false appearances of  
Ant. C. friendship.  
36.

In consequence of this new project, and conformable to his orders, the Chiefs of the Parthians, instead of acting with their accustomed vivacity against the Romans in their forages, and upon other occasions, when they came within reach of them, put on a more gentle behaviour, retreating designedly to allow them to get provisions, praising their surprising valour wherever they met them, and assuring them of the esteem and admiration of Phraates. They came at last to have familiar conversations with them, in which they blamed Antony very much, for not taking the advantage of the friendship of the king of the Parthians, who wished to have peace, and had no inclination to destroy such a number of brave warriors. "Your general," said they, "obstinately waits here for two of the most formidable enemies of mankind, famine and winter, which are sufficient to destroy him, and from which it will be very difficult for him to escape, even with our assistance."

These expressions being reported to Antony, made an impression upon him, and the hope of retreating safe, diminished the firmness of his resolution to continue the siege. In the mean time, he would not hazard taking such a step, nor offer terms of peace to the enemy, till he had first caused those who brought this account to be examined, to know whether they were authorized by Phraates in what they said. They answered, that they had only expressed the true sentiments of their prince, and that Antony might safely depend upon the truth of it.

This answer determined the Roman General to negotiate with Phraates, and accordingly he sent to him some of his friends. Only, in order to save his honour in some measure, and not to appear as if he thought himself very happy in being at liberty to retreat, he charged still to demand the restitution of the Roman standards and prisoners, which had remained in

in the power of the Parthians ever since the defeat of Crassus. The king received his deputation in a haughty manner, being seated on a throne of gold, and holding in his hand a bow, the string of which he pulled. So haughty a reception presaged a disdainful answer; and he rejected as impertinent the proposition for restoring the prisoners and colours, bursting out into bitter reproaches against the Romans; but promised them however peace and security, if they chose to retire. Antony was obliged to be content with what was granted him, by an enemy who was in a condition of prescribing laws to him; and he ordered his men to make all the necessary preparations for their departure.

A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

It was customary on such occasions for generals to harangue their army, which Antony was very capable of. He knew very well how to acquit himself in a publick speech, and especially he seemed to be formed to please the soldiers by a kind of military eloquence, which was agreeable to their taste, and inspired them with such sentiments as he wished to raise in them. But upon this melancholy occasion, the shame and confusion he was in stopped his mouth, and he deputed Domitius Ahenobarbus to harangue the troops in his room. Some were affronted at this, and thought themselves neglected; but others, and by far the greatest number, knew perfectly well the motive of this forced silence. They were heartily sorry for it, and it was a motive for them to sympathize with their general, and obey him the more assiduously.

Antony prepared to return the same way he came, through a plain open country. But happily for him and his army, there arrived in his camp one of the old \* Roman prisoners, in whom the love of his

\* Velleius and Florus call him expressly one of the Roman prisoners. We read in Plutarch, that this guide, to whom Antony owed the safety of his army, was a Mardian by birth, and consequently a stranger with regard to the Romans, being born in Upper Asia. Some learned men believe that there is an error in Plutarch's text, and that instead of Mardi, it ought to be read Marfi, a people



A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

country had only been encreased, by a long and melancholy confinement among Barbarians. He caused them to carry him to Antony, and advised him to turn to the right on the side of the mountains, and not expose his legions, who were heavy armed, in vast plains, quite naked, and without any shelter, to fifty thousand cavalry, and a shower of innumerable arrows. He discovered to him the secret intentions of Phraates, who had no other view than that of making him fall into his snare, in amusing him by deceitful promises. In short, he offered to serve him as a guide, and to conduct him by a shorter way, where he would find more provisions for the subsistence of his troops. Antony, struck with this discovery, was nevertheless scrupulous in distrusting the Parthians, with whom he had just concluded a treaty. However, the double advantage of a route which would shorten the march, and where his army would be better provided, decided in favour of the advice proposed by the prisoner; who having desired he might be fettered as a proof of his fidelity, was accepted as a guide, and charged with directing the route of the army.

The two first days passed very quietly; but the third day, when Antony dreamt no more of the Parthians, and already quite secure, marched in irregular order, the guide observed a great breach newly made in a dyke which confined the waters of a river, in consequence of which the road was overflowed. He gave them notice from this, that the enemy was not far off; and in short, Antony had scarce time to draw his legions up in order before the Parthians appeared, and attempted to inclose his army by wheeling round about them. Antony had left between the ranks room for the slingers and archers, who at the approach of the enemy, immediately advanced. The combat

of Italy; and thus Plutarch would agree with the Roman historians. But if he had believed that this man was one who had escaped from the defeat of Crassus, I am persuaded he would have mentioned that circumstance in express terms. I therefore imagine, that there is no room to make any alteration in his text; but I have preferred the authority of the Latin authors.

was

was very hot, and the Parthians were no less hurt by the balls of lead, and arrows, which the Romans discharged upon them, than the light troops of the Romans were by the arrows of the Parthians. They retreated, and returned again to the charge. But the Gaulish cavalry having engaged, dispersed them entirely, and they appeared no more that day. The success of that first combat put Antony upon the method of resisting the attacks of the Parthians. Having ranged his army into a large square, he placed his light-armed troops, not only in the rear, but also in the front and flanks; and the cavalry had orders, after they had broken the enemy, to stop, and not pursue them too far.

A. R. 716.  
Ant. C.  
36.

By this disposition, and prosecuting this plan, the Romans easily suffered the redoubled efforts of the Parthians for four days successively; and the want of success abating the ardour of the Barbarians, they already thought of returning, and laid hold of the winter as a pretence for it. But the rashness of a Roman officer, which procured them a considerable advantage, at the same time restored their courage and perseverance.

This officer, who was called Fabius Gallus, did not want bravery, and undertaking to beat the Parthians, so as to hinder their appearing for the future, he demanded of Antony a detachment of light troops and cavalry. With this body, which he obtained, he did not content himself with only repelling the enemy, but he even was so rash as to attack and pursue them. It was in the rear of the Roman army that this action happened; and as soon as those who commanded there saw Gallus at a distance from them, alarmed at their danger, they sent orders for him to return immediately. But he did not think proper to obey these orders. In vain the Quæstor Titius reproached him very warmly, accusing him of being the occasion of losing so many brave men, and even laid hold of the colours to make him return. But nothing could get the better of the obstinacy of Gallus. He pushed al-

A. R. 716. ways forwards, without taking care of his rear, till  
 Ant. C. all at once he saw himself entirely surrounded.  
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He then demanded assistance; but Canidius, whose office this was, and who had the most authority of all Antony's lieutenants, committed a great fault on this occasion. For instead of sending a large body of troops, which might have decided the affair at once, he sent successively several small platoons, who were defeated one after another; and this put almost the whole army in a panick. Antony was obliged to come himself with the legions which composed the advanced guard, to stop the Parthians, and secure a retreat for his own men who fled. Thus finished that unfortunate battle; in which they reckoned on the side of the Romans, three thousand killed and five thousand wounded; and amongst the latter was Gallus himself, who was wounded with four arrows, and died soon after.

Antony behaved admirably in these melancholy rencounters. He went through all the tents to visit the wounded, sharing in their disasters, and condoling their hard fortune, even so far as to shed tears; and the soldiers shewed themselves in their turn extremely sensible of the affection of their general: they comforted him, took him by the hand, loaded him with terms of respect and attachment, and prayed him to turn his cares towards himself; protesting to him, that, provided he was kept safe, they should look upon themselves as happy and victorious.

Such were the sentiments of his whole army; which, whether one considers the number, or courage of the soldiers, or their patience in fatigues, or, in short, the persons of the men, and the vigour of the whole corps, was the finest that had been assembled at the time of which we are now writing; and which further may be compared to all that the ancient Roman manners present as the most perfect; both for respect towards their general, and exactness of obedience, which proceeded from the heart, and from the unanimous disposition which they all had, both great and small,  
 officers



officers and private soldiers, to prefer the esteem and good graces of Antony to their safety, and even their lives.

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He deserved, on many accounts, this lively and tender attachment, and all good qualities concurred to make him adored by his troops. First, his noble descent, then his eloquence, but especially the frankness and candour of his proceedings, a magnificent liberality, popular manners, and a familiar gaiety, which extended to their diversions. And, on the present occasion, his sympathizing with their sufferings, and his attention to prevent their wants and desires, made the sick and wounded still more zealous for his service, than those who enjoyed their health and vigour.

The Parthians were ignorant of this disposition of the Romans; and looking upon them as vanquished and totally discouraged, they passed the night, contrary to their custom, hard by the enemy's camp, reckoning to find it very soon empty, and to have no more trouble, but to plunder it quietly. Phraates, their king, who kept always at some distance from the body of the army, thought also that the victory was compleat, and sent his guard to take a share of the spoil.

Antony prepared himself to receive their attack firmly, and thought it was proper to harangue his army in the present conjuncture. He intended to harangue them in a mourning robe, in order to excite their commiseration the more. But his friends having represented to him, that the superstitious soldiers might draw a bad omen from it, he clothed himself according to his custom in a purple robe; and in the speech which he made, mixed praises with reproaches, blaming those who had fled, and commending those who had done their duty well, and renewed the combat. They all assured him of their zeal and affection. The faulty even offered themselves voluntarily to his revenge, either to be decimated, if he thought proper, or punished in whatever other manner he pleased.

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Only they conjured him to cease to be irritated against them, and not be dispirited. Then Antony, raising his eyes to heaven, beseeched the gods, that if his past prosperities ought to be expiated by some disgrace, their heavenly vengeance might fall on him alone, but that the generosity of his army might be recompensed with safety and victory.

The Romans having begun their march, very well guarded and prepared in case of an attack, had so much the less trouble in repulsing the Parthians, as those came with an opinion, that they had less business to fight than to take possession of a prey which was sure and defenceless. Thus, seeing themselves, contrary to expectation, borne down with a shower of arrows, and meeting with a vigorous resistance from an enemy whom they thought defeated and dismayed, surprise, as well as fear, made them retire precipitately; but, in the mean while, without renouncing their hope and intention of fatiguing the Roman army, and destroying it if they could.

They soon imagined that they had found an opportunity, at the descent of a hill, where the Romans, embarrassed by a slippery and steep declivity, and harassed by a numerous cavalry, found it very difficult to advance, and at last took the resolution of forming with their bucklers, what they called a military Tortoise. The meaning of this term is well enough understood. It was usual in the Roman army, when the soldiers were exposed to a multitude of arrows, after having placed in the center all the cavalry and light troops, and ranged themselves in a square battalion, to cover with their bucklers the front and flanks of the battalion; and all those who were in the middle raised their bucklers over their heads, disposing them after the manner of tiles. Thus defended on all sides, they did not allow the enemy to take advantage of them any where, the arrows glancing upon the bucklers without hurting the soldiers. Those who were in the first line, in order to be entirely covered, kneeled upon one knee: and it was this that deceived the Parthians.

Parthians. They thought it was fatigue and discouragement which depressed the Romans, and, leaving their arrows, they took in their hands long halberts to pierce through this Tortoise. At their approach the Romans cried aloud in a threatening manner, stood up, and smiting them with the javelins which they had in their hands, they killed the foremost, and put the rest to flight. The same thing happened the following days, and the Romans made but very little progress.

A famine began likewise to distress the army, because they had no grain but what they took by force; and besides, they wanted proper instruments to grind it. The beasts of burden which they had, either perished by fatigue, or were employed in carrying the sick and wounded, and consequently their distress became quite deplorable, insomuch that a small measure of wheat was sold for twenty-five drachma's\*, and the barley-bread was exchanged for silver, weight for weight. It was absolutely necessary therefore for the soldiers to have recourse to roots and pulse, which were also very hard to come at, and hunger obliged them to try an unknown herb, the use of which was fatal to them, and beginning by disturbing their reason, at last killed them.

The effect of this herb was extremely surprizing. They who eat of it, lost their senses and memory; and the only idea which possessed them was, to turn over and over all the stones which they met with. They gave themselves up to this exercise as to a most serious employment, so that the plain was quite filled with men stooping towards the ground, and digging it, in order to take up the stones, and transport them from one place to another. Wine was the only remedy against this disease, and their stock was quite spent. Thus this strange species of madness terminated in death, which was preceded by a vomiting of pure bile.

\* One-and-twenty shillings and tenpence.



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Antony seeing them perish under his eyes in great numbers, and constantly pursued by the Parthians, cried out several times, "O retreat of ten thousand!" He admired, though at the same time it redoubled his grief, the fate of the Greek troops led back by Xenophon, who having a much larger country to pass over, and more numerous enemies to engage, nevertheless returned happy and triumphant.

Mean while the Parthians, not being able to break in upon the Roman army, or disorder their ranks, always repulsed, always defeated, and obliged to fly, had recourse again to artifice, to which the genius of that nation carried them, and which had been at first on the point of succeeding. They sought therefore for opportunities of getting near the Romans, when these went to gather provisions in the country, and shewing their bows unbent, they entered into conversation with them, and told them they thought themselves sufficiently revenged, and were making preparations to return to their country; that only some of the troops of Media were to keep within sight of them for two or three days longer, not in order to molest them, but to defend the villages which were upon that route. They accompanied these speeches with all sorts of caresses and testimonies of friendship, so that the Romans began to give credit to them, and conceive better hopes. Antony himself was staggered at it; and of the two roads which he might chuse, one by the mountains, which they said wanted water, and the other by the plain, he had almost determined for the latter. It is indeed surprizing that he should have been so little upon his guard against the perfidy of the Parthians. But a salutary advice, which also came to him from the enemy's army, corrected his error.

A friend of Monefes, that illustrious fugitive to whom Antony had made a present of three towns, came to the Roman camp, and demanded that they would allow him to speak with one who knew the language of the Parthians, or the Syrians. Alexander

er of Antioch, in whom Antony placed a great deal of confidence, having presented himself, Mithridates, which was the name of this friend of Monefes, told him, that Monefes, willing to testify by an effectual piece of service his gratitude to the Roman general, had sent him to them. He then pointed with his finger to a chain of mountains, and said to him: Behind those mountains the whole Parthian army is posted in ambush. They hope, that being deluded by their discourse, you will march over the plain, commanded by those heights which conceal them; but take care not to do it. If you continue by the way of the mountains, you have nothing to fear but those evils to which you have been long accustomed, fatigue and thirst. But if Antony ventures to march by the plain, let him take care that he does not meet with the catastrophe of Crassus."

Antony, who thought before that he was free from all danger, was troubled to see himself thrown afresh into fear and embarrassments. He assembled his council, and ordered the guide to attend, who himself was already afraid of the plain, because it was a vast desert, which had no certain road, and where they might easily wander; whereas by the mountains they had no other inconveniency than that of wanting water for the space of a day. It was therefore determined to take this last route, and the soldiers had orders to carry in a stock of water. As they were destitute of vessels, some made use of their helmets to carry water with them, and others filled bottles with it, and they set out upon their march the beginning of the night.

The Parthians were soon informed of the departure of the Roman army, and they made haste to pursue them, even in the night-time, contrary to their custom. At break of day they came up with them, and falling upon their rear, they threw the harrassed troops, which had made a forced march of ten leagues, and still suffered greatly from thirst, into some

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some disorder. But presently the Romans recovered their courage; and though they were surprised to see themselves briskly attacked by enemies which they thought they had left far behind them, they stood their ground and fought vigorously, still advancing slowly in their march.

While the Parthians were still harrassing the rear of the Roman army, the front approached to a river which to the thirsty soldiers appeared to be a blessing sent down from heaven. They ran hastily to it in spite of the remonstrances of their guide; who informed them, that the quality of the waters was bad and unwholesome, to which they gave no credit, till they were convinced by experience, that the information he gave them was too true. The waters were salt and loaded with acids, which caused to those who drank of them violent colics, and instead of quenching their thirst, increased it greatly. What they suffered gave weight to Antony's exhortation, who going amongst the ranks, encouraged the soldiers still to have patience for a little while, till they should come to another river which was not far off, and the waters of which they might drink without fear or danger; and he added, that beyond that river, the country was impracticable for the Parthian cavalry, so that they would be delivered from the pursuit of their enemies. At the same time he called back those who were fighting, and caused the retreat to be sounded; being willing to encamp in the place where they were, that at least the soldiers might refresh themselves under the shelter of their tents.

The Parthians, who never attacked the Romans but during their march, having retreated as usual, the same Mithridates, who had given them such good advice before, came again into Antony's camp, and demanding to speak once more with Alexander or Antioch, he advised him to tell the Romans, after they had taken a short repose, to make haste to decamp, and march to the river, because the Parthians were resolved to pursue them so far, but not



pass it. Antony rewarded the service which Mithridates had done him, with a great number of vessels of gold, as many of which as he could, he concealed under his clothes, and departed,

The Romans made a right use of the information which the Parthian had given them; and after a short halt, began their march again, before it was dark. They were not pursued, nor in the least alarmed by the enemy. But the night following was the most cruel of all, occasioned entirely by their own indiscretion. A rage for plundering seized them all of a sudden, for which no other cause could possibly be assigned, but the natural avarice of the soldiers, emboldened by the favour of the night. They fell then upon those who had gold and money, and killed them, to enrich themselves with their spoils. They did not even spare the baggage of their General, and broke to pieces the magnificent equipage to share it among themselves. The confusion was frightful; they did not know one another; and as they were ignorant of the cause of the tumult, they attributed it to an attack of the enemy. Antony, in despair, saw no resource left but in a violent death, and having called one of his guards, named Rhamnus, who had been a gladiator, he made him promise with an oath to stab him when he should desire it, and afterwards cut off his head, that he might neither be taken alive by the Parthians, nor be known after his death.

His friends could not refrain from tears; but the guide comforted him, by telling him, that they were coming near the river, for he felt in the air a refreshing moisture, which denoted water to be near them, and rendered respiration more easy and agreeable. That besides, the calculation of the time they had been on the march, corresponded with those signs; for the night was just at a close. At the same time some officers, who had taken care to enquire into the cause of the tumult, informed him that the enemy had no hand in it, and that it was only the effect of the unbridled avarice of his own troops. Thus, to re-establish

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re-establish peace and order among the soldiers, he commanded them to halt, and every one to range himself under his proper colours.

Day-light began already to appear, and with it the Parthian army. But the army of the Romans had recovered from its confusion, and the light troops advanced in good order to beat back the enemy. At the same time the legionary soldiers formed the Tortoise, which I have already described; and secure under this shelter they always proceeded, tho' slowly, towards the end of their march, without being harassed by the Parthians, who durst not approach them.

At last they discovered the river which was so much longed for; and Antony having placed his cavalry on the banks of it, facing the enemy, transported his soldiers first. Presently the whole troops saw themselves in full tranquillity, and at liberty to quench their thirst in wholesome running water. For as soon as the Parthians perceived the river, they ceased to shoot at them, and slackened their bows; and one of them raising his voice, cried to them aloud, “\* Farewell, Romans, retreat without fear. 'Tis with very good reason that fame has published your glory, and nations acknowledge you their conquerors; seeing you have escaped the arrows of the Parthians.”

As soon as the Romans reached the other side of the river, their first care was to relax themselves a little, after so many fatigues. They then began again their march, and the sixth day after the last battle, they arrived at Araxes, which separates Atropatenian Media from Armenia. This march was performed without any danger, but not without difficulty. They were always suspicious of the Parthians, and upon approaching to Araxes, a report was spread that the Parthians were again appearing. But it was a false alarm; and the Romans had no other difficulty

\* *Ite & bene valet, Romani. Meritò vos victores gentium famula loquitur, qui Parthorum tela fugistis.* FLOR. IV. 10.

to overcome, than that of the river itself, which was large and rapid.

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It cannot be expressed with what satisfaction the soldiers again saw Armenia. They were in the same transports as people who arrive on shore after a long and dangerous voyage. They kissed that beloved ground, and embraced one another with tears of joy. The great plenty of every thing, which succeeded their late want and famine, became hurtful to many of them; for having no command of themselves in eating and drinking, they fell into dropsies, and other obstinate diseases.

Antony reviewed his troops, and found that he had lost twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; more than one half of which had perished by diseases, and not by the enemy. We must add to this considerable loss, that of almost all the baggage of the army. His march from Praaspa to the river near which he fought for the last time with the Parthians, was twenty-one days: during which they marched one hundred leagues, and fought eighteen battles, always coming off victorious; but his victories had no decisive effect, because he could not pursue the enemy far, nor hinder them from rallying again at some distance. From hence we may observe, what a loss the perfidy of the king of Armenia was to Antony, who deserted him at the siege of Praaspa. For that prince having a flourishing cavalry, amounting to sixteen thousand, armed almost in the manner of the Parthians, and accustomed to fight the same way, their assistance would have secured a complete victory to the Romans. For the legions putting to flight the Parthians, and the Armenian cavalry pursuing and killing them, they could not have rallied so soon, nor returned so frequently to the charge.

Liv. Epist.  
CXXX.  
Plut.

The whole Roman army breathed nothing but vengeance against Artabazes, and they wanted to do themselves justice immediately. Antony, not less irritated, but more master of his resentment, did not think it advisable to attack a king upon his throne, and



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and in his own country, with troops quite spent with miseries and fatigues. He therefore made use of dissimulation, and far from shewing any displeasure at the king of Armenia, he continued to testify a great deal of confidence in him, and even went so far as to receive money and provisions of him; putting off his revenge to another time.

In order to execute this revenge, Antony could never have fallen upon a better method, than by taking up his winter-quarters in Armenia; which, besides, would have enabled him to renew the war against the Parthians, at the opening of the next campaign, and to take satisfaction, which he had extremely at heart, for the affront which he had received of him. But his blind passion for Cleopatra made him forget all other considerations. His mind was filled with nothing but the hopes of seeing her again; and, in spite of the rigour of the season, he chose to return with his army into Syria, and marched his men over snows and ice, which destroyed to the number of eight thousand more. The slowness of a laborious march irritated his patience, and as soon as it was possible, he went on before, accompanied with a very few of his troops, and came to the sea, at a place called the White Village, between Berytus and Sidon.

There, waiting for the queen of Egypt, he gave himself up to excesses of eating and drinking, in order to allay his vexation, making merry night and day with his friends. Even this indecent diversion was not sufficient to mitigate his foolish passion; for frequently in the middle of a repast, while they were pressing each other to drink, he would start suddenly from table, and run to the river, to see if he could discover the vessels which were to bring to him Cleopatra.

At last she arrived, and brought with her cloaths and money, which Antony distributed to his troops. Some imagined the money belonged to himself, and that he only wanted to give the queen the honour of it.

Antony

# CORNIFICIUS, POMPEIUS, Consuls.

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Antony had certainly very little reason to be vain of this expedition. However, he wrote to Rome of it, in the stile of a conqueror, disguising his losses, and magnifying the little advantages he had gained; for which he well deserved those reproaches, which the flatterers of Cæsar have thrown upon him, for calling his \* flight a victory, and representing himself as a conqueror, for having escaped from the hands of the enemy. Octavius was perfectly well acquainted with the truth of the affair, and had taken care to inform himself sufficiently about it. But being obliged to keep in with Antony, and so much the more Sextus Pompeius was still alive, he took care not to contradict publickly the vain-glorious relations of his colleague. On the contrary, he ordered the Senate to decree a thanksgiving and sacrifices to the Gods, for a happy and glorious success. The disquiet which the life of Sextus Pompeius gave to Octavius, did not last long, for he died the year following, which had for Consuls L. Cornificius, and a man of Sextus's family and name, but of a different branch.

L. CORNIFICIUS.

SEX. POMPEIUS.

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I have already related in what manner Sextus Pompeius was forced by Octavius to abandon Sicily, after he had possessed it several years, and fly from the port of Messina with seventeen vessels. His chief intention was to gain Asia; but as no body pursued him, he did not hurry himself so much as to forget his profession of a pirate, and he went to pillage the temple of Juno Lacina, situated upon the East coast of Bruttium, near Cortona. From thence he fled into Corcyrus, then to the island of Cephal-

Appian.  
Civ. l. V.  
Dio, l.  
XLIX.

Hanc Antonius fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam vocat. VELL. II. 82.  
credibili mentis vecordia, ferocior aliquanto factus est, quasi vi-  
qui evaserat. FLOR. IV. 10.

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lenia,

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lenia, and at last he arrived at Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos, the inhabitants of which had a great regard to the memory of his father and his family.

He proposed at first to pass the winter peaceably at this place, waiting Antony's return from his expedition against the Parthians, and to go and present himself to him as an unfortunate friend, who implored his protection. But his restless ambition very soon suggested other thoughts to him. Displeased at the treatment of Furnius, who commanded for the Triumvir in Asia; and animated by the hopes which Antony's bad success in the war against the Parthians revived in his breast, he projected nothing less than to substitute himself in his place, or, at least, to share with him the provinces of the East. He saw his troops increase daily, by a great number of his old soldiers and friends, who, destitute of all resource, came flocking about him. He therefore took again the ensigns of command, and the general's military robes; he refitted his vessels, and exercised his rowers, alledging for pretence, sometimes the necessity of guarding himself against Octavius, and sometimes the service of Antony, to whom he was willing to render himself useful. In the mean time, he sent deputies to the kings and little princes of Thrace, and to those of Pontus, to negotiate with them sily. He even sent them to the Parthians, to whom he hoped his name would be a favourable recommendation; and calling to mind the example of Labienus, who had been well received by them, and put at the head of their armies, he did not at all doubt but that the friendship of Pompey's son would be still in higher esteem with them. It will naturally be imagined, that he concealed these practices as carefully as possible. While he thus acted industriously against Antony, at the same time promised him a faithful friendship, and the better to impose upon him, he sent to him some of his friends with orders to offer him his service, and to represent to him their common interest.



Antony was then returned to Alexandria; and upon the first news of Sextus's motions, he had sent Titius with orders to take all the sea and land forces of Syria, and make war against the fugitive general, if he remained still in arms; or, if he consented to lay them down, to make an agreement with him, and conduct him honourably into Egypt. In the mean time the Triumvir listened to the deputies of Sextus, whose speeches were very artful, and well adapted to the circumstances of the times.

They put Antony in mind of the advances which their chief, in the height of his prosperity, had made to him, and the confidence which he had always placed in his frankness, candour, and noble courage, to which they opposed the dissimulation, treachery, and artifice of Octavius. They awakened his jealousy against his young colleague, who had taken possession of the spoils of Sextus and Lepidus, without allowing him any share. They made him look upon him as a rival, with whom a war must become inevitable, and that in a short time; because Antony was the only obstacle which retarded his boundless ambition, and hindered him from becoming master of the whole universe. They finished their speeches, by protesting to him, that Sextus desired only to serve him with his person and troops, whose fidelity could never be shaken by his misfortunes. "Thus, said they, if you have peace, it will be an honour to you to receive the son of the great Pompey, and if you must go to war, which you may expect very soon, he will be an useful friend to you."

Antony answered them by declaring, that the orders he had sent to Titius would soon discover, whether he was really of those sentiments as the deputies represented him.

Thus we see that Antony did not trust greatly to the promises of this disgraced, but always ambitious General; and at that very time, there happened an incident which rendered them still more suspicious; for the officers brought to him those which Sextus had

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dispatched towards the Parthians, who in the course of their journey had been known and stopt. Antony was so simple, and easily imposed upon, and so far from taking umbrage on a slight occasion, that he even admitted of the excuses of Sextus's agents, who represented to him, that the melancholy situation, which their chief was in at that time, and uncertain as he was of the dispositions of Antony, it was not at all surprising, that he should try resources in some measure desperate; but that as soon as he should be acquainted with the Triumvir's good intentions, he would not fail of conforming himself to them. Antony was satisfied with these excuses, and waited for the confirmation of what they had said.

But the consequences were quite contrary to those fine promises. When once a person has tasted of absolute authority, it is very difficult for him to stoop to any other, and the second rank will be disagreeable to him who has been accustomed to the first. Sextus pushed the project of continuing himself the chief of the party as far as he could, and of raising an independent establishment to himself in prejudice of Antony. He had even some slight success before the arrival of Titius. Furnius, who commanded in Asia, had few forces on foot; and though he had called to his assistance Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Amyntas, whom Antony had made king of the Galatians, Sextus had the advantage over all the three. He surprised their camp, and rendered himself master of several considerable towns, as Lampascus, Nicea, and Nicomedia. This glimpse of good fortune increased his courage the more, as it greatly augmented the number of his partizans. The people, burdened with very heavy taxes, looked upon him, in a manner, as their deliverer; they contended who should lift themselves fastest under his standards, so that he soon saw himself master of three legions, and two hundred horse. But Titius arriving with a fleet of sixscore sail, having on board a great number of land forces; and at the same time Furnius having re-

ceived

received the seventy vessels which Octavius, victorious in Sicily, had sent back to Antony, his fortune changed all on a sudden, and Sextus seeing no other resource, than to penetrate if possible into the higher Asia, burnt his little squadron, which became useless to him against forces so vastly superior, and converted the rowers and sailors into soldiers.

This was a desperate shift. And on this occasion, that unfortunate chief saw himself deserted by those illustrious friends who had remained with him, the most conspicuous of whom in history is Cassius of Parma; and even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo, went to seek for security in the camp of Antony's lieutenants. As for Sextus, he persisted in his resolution of trying every thing, rather than submitting, and determined to march through Bithynia, with a design, as was imagined, to gain Armenia, the king of which, as we have seen, had great reason to distrust Antony. Titius and Furnius united with Amyntas, intercepted his march by fatiguing his troops, falling upon his rear, taking prisoners the foragers, and reducing him to the want of both water and provisions. At last they obliged him to demand an interview, in order to treat of an accommodation.

Titius was suspected by him, and not at all agreeable to him, because having formerly been protected by him in Sicily, and returned to Rome by means of his favour, and in virtue of the treaty of Misenum, he had nevertheless taken a commission to make war against him. Sextus looked upon him then as an ungrateful and faithless man, and for that reason he would not confer with him, but with Furnius.

Furnius having presented himself, Sextus demanded as the only terms, that he might give himself up to him, with a promise, that he should be safely conducted to Antony. Furnius refused it, alledging, that Titius alone was intrusted with Antony's orders, and that consequently it was to him, that Sextus must deliver himself. But he had an invincible aversion to the person of Titius, and he offered to deliver him-



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35.

self up to Amyntas. This new proposition being rejected by them, he broke off the conference. Next night he fled from his enemy, leaving the fires lighted in his camp to conceal his flight. He directed his course towards the sea, and had formed the desperate resolution of burning Titius's fleet; but a deserter of note, called Scaurus, came to inform Antony's lieutenants of the route which Sextus had taken; and Amyntas detached with fifteen hundred horse, soon overtook the fugitive general, who was without cavalry. At the approach of Amyntas, all those who accompanied Sextus left him, and that unfortunate general, without any hopes or resource, and ready to see himself left quite alone, surrendered without terms to the Galatian prince, who gave him over to Titius. This happened near the town of Mideum in Phrygia. Titius caused his prisoner to be conducted to Miletum, to expect Antony's orders.

It is certain that Sextus was killed there soon after, but it is doubtful what share Antony had in the murder. According to some, the Triumvir, in the first heat of his passion, ordered Sextus to be killed; but afterwards relenting, he sent a counter-order, which was carried with such expedition that it arrived first. So that the order which condemned Sextus to die coming to hand last, Titius construed it, or at least chose to construe it, as the last resolution of Antony and put it in execution. Others throw the whole blame upon Plancus, who had the power of dispatching orders in Antony's name, signing them for him and sealing them with his seal. But the truth discovers itself through all those veils; for it can hardly be doubted, but that Antony must be very glad to get rid of Sextus. But as nothing could be more odious than to kill in cold blood the last son of Pompey, he was very glad to let the blame of it fall upon his lieutenant. If what some say be true, he did not chuse to spare him, because he was made to apprehend finding a rival in his prisoner, whose name was formerly so dear to Cleopatra. In the mean time,

can hardly believe that Antony would have determined to cause Sextus to be put to death, if he could only have taken a resolution suitable to the situation of his affairs. But \* fugitive, and ruined, his conduct was wavering between that of a general and a suppliant; for sometimes being obstinate in supporting his rank, and at other times reduced humbly to ask his life, he seemed to be a dangerous man, and not at all to be trusted.

Sextus Pompeius died in the fortieth year of his age, after a life always disquieted, hurried, and exposed to a thousand dangers. He owed to the glory of his father, both his honours and misfortunes. He had more courage than prudence, and more ambition than art and good conduct. A chief of robbers, and afterwards of pirates; rustick and unpolite in his speech and behaviour, and governed by the lowest of men, he furnished ample subject of reproach to the writers, who wanted to make their court to the Triumviri. There are two things, however, which will ever render him praise-worthy; his fidelity in the treaty of Misenum, and the generosity which he shewed in protecting the proscribed.

Octavius caused great honours to be decreed to Antony, on account of the death of Sextus, and celebrated games in the Circus, in testimony of publick rejoicings. He had certainly very good reason to rejoice, to see that house, which was an enemy to his, exterminated. I question, however, if the people were sincere in their joy, for the name of Pompey was still respected and beloved by the Romans; and Titius, murderer of Sextus, when he returned to Rome, having celebrated games in the theatre of Pompey, was loaded with imprecations, and obliged ignominiously to leave the shew which he had been at the expence of.

\* Dum inter ducem & supplicem tumultuatur, & aunc dignitatem retinet, nunc vitam precatur; à M. Titio, jussu M. Antonii, jugulatus est. VELL. II. 79.

A. R. 717.  
Ant. C.  
35.

By the death of Sextus Pompeius, Cæsar's party, which had been a long time triumphant, subsisted quite alone, and there remained no more for Octavius and Antony to do, after having overcome all their enemies, but to turn their arms against one another, in order to decide which of the two should remain master of the empire. This was the great object which they had always in view, especially Octavius, whose ambition was not diverted by any other passion. There passed, however, some years before it came to an open rupture betwixt them; and I shall finish this book, by placing here those facts, which were foreign to the great event that concluded the civil wars, that so I may be at more liberty to confine myself entirely to it, without mixing other things to divert the reader's attention.

## DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

Appian.  
Illyr. Dio.

WHILST Antony was divided between his foolish love for Cleopatra, and his chimerical projects against the Parthians, Octavius kept still his troops in exercise, by wars more properly adapted to keep up the valour of his soldiers, than to add to the real glory of his arms. He even took a pride, after having always till that time employed their force against their fellow-citizens, to make a more innocent use of them against strangers, for which the nations in Illyrium presented him with an opportunity. Since the war between Cæsar and Pompey they had never been at rest, and the Japodes had made recent incursions as far as Aquilia, and pillaged Trieste, a Roman colony. He resolved therefore to chastise these restless people, and to bring them back to their duty. But when he prepared to march against them, a sedition stopt him for some time.

The old soldiers who had mutinied in Sicily, as I have already mentioned, complained that they had never yet received the rewards for their services, and they



they demanded at least an opportunity of meriting them by new labours, and taking up their military profession again under his colours. As their complaints were not without foundation, he gave satisfaction to a number of them, by assigning them settlements in Cisalpine Gaul. But this distinction having only augmented the jealousy of the rest, he made use of severity. He sent some of them to be punished, and disarmed them all; and would not forgive them, till he had reduced them to have recourse to the most humble intreaties. Then, having established the authority of the supreme command, and fearing, lest if he was obstinate in checking them, they would go over to Antony, he admitted them amongst his troops, and accepted their service.

He then departed for the war in Illyrium, and carried his victorious arms successively against the Japodes, the Panonians, and the Dalmatians. As I do not think that the accounts of this expedition are interesting enough to merit a particular description, I shall only observe, that Octavius behaved himself gallantly on more occasions than one, and refuted, by a bravery which is above all censure, those unjust suspicions of cowardice which were thrown upon him by Antony, and the impression of which is not quite obliterated even at this day.

Thus in a time of surprise, when he was suddenly attacked by the enemy, had the difficulty of the road to overcome besides, and to mount a rough, steep declivity, full of trees and brambles; observing that his troops did not advance briskly, he took a buckler from one of the soldiers, and running to the front ranks, animated them by his example, and repulsed the Barbarians.

In another engagement he received a blow of a stone on his right knee, which hurt him very much, and disabled him from acting for several days.

But he signalized his valour no where more remarkably, than at the siege of Metulum, the capital of the Japodes. The place was naturally strong, and

Flor. IV.  
12. Suet.  
Aug. c. 20.  
Appian.  
Dio.

## DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

and so obstinately defended by the inhabitants, that after the wall was broke down, they built a new one, and formed a second fortification, which obliged Octavius to begin his operations anew. He raised terraces, and built upon them towers, from which they were to throw over to the walls of the enemy flying bridges, all at a time. This was executed in a hurry, and three of the bridges broke, so that none of them durst venture themselves upon the fourth. Then Octavius, who examined all that passed from the top of a high tower, came down in great haste, exhorted the discouraged soldiers very warmly, and not being able to rouse their courage by words, he mounted the bridge himself, and advanced towards the wall, holding a buckler before him. Agrippa, two other general officers, and a domestick attended him; and they were presently followed by such a great number of soldiers, that the bridge broke under them like the three first, and all those who were upon it fell down with great violence. Several of them were killed, and a great many very much bruised, and amongst the rest Octavius, who was wounded in the right leg, and both his arms. However, supporting himself against this troublesome accident by his presence of mind, he immediately mounted again upon the top of the tower, and presented himself both to the view of his own people and of the enemy, in order to prevent the former from being discouraged, and check the insolence of the latter.

After such proofs of valour, he had a good right to demand the same of his troops, and punish cowardice severely. Wherefore a Cohort having behaved ill, and fled before the enemy, he decimated them, and caused to be distributed to those soldiers, whose good fortune had saved them, barley instead of wheat during the whole campaign.

This war, in which I do not find any person of note to have been killed, excepting Menas, that perfidious freedman of Sextus, employed Octavius during three years, and was not terminated till the year

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† Dio

of Rome 719, when the Barbarians submitted, gave hostages, restored the colours which they had formerly taken from Gabinus and Vatinius, and engaged to pay the tribute imposed by the conqueror.

Octavius besides subdued, by means of his lieutenants, other nations, who were either ill subjected, or had never been under the Roman power.

At the same time that Octavius made war in Illy-<sup>Freinsh.</sup> rium, \* Messala, who was charged by him to suppress the Salassi, subdued that nation, which inhabited CXXXI. the country now called the Val d'Aouste. They had 37, 38. a long time been troublesome to the Roman generals, whose intestine divisions gave them more important business, than that of reducing the Barbarians canoned in the mountains. But as soon as they had leisure to think of them, they were presently forced to submit, and accept what laws the generals thought proper to impose.

The exploits of M. Crassus against the Mysians, the Bastarnæ, and other nations bordering upon the Danube, towards Thrace, happened some † years later than those abovementioned; and in placing them here, I follow the order which the nature of the facts point out, and not the order of time. It is very well known, how fierce and warlike the nations inhabiting these countries have always been. Crassus opposed to their boldness an uncommon bravery, of which he gave an example, in killing with his own hand in battle, Deldon king of the Bastarnæ.

He merited by this action, the honour of the spoils called Opimæ. But whether it was, that his quality of simple lieutenant of Octavius excluded him from

\* 'Tis from the authority of Appian and Dio, that I have attributed the victory over the Salassi to Messala. I am, however, in some doubt about it, founded on the silence of Tibullus, who, in his Pægyric upon Messala, when he gives a list of the warlike exploits of his hero, does not name the Salassi, among the people subdued by him. Strabo, lib. IV. says, that Messala quartered one winter in their neighbourhood. But far from honouring him with any advantage gained over them, he assures us, that he was obliged to purchase wood of them, for fire and military uses.

† Dio makes mention of it under the year of Rome 723.



## DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

it, because they thought that those spoils could not be acquired but by the commander in chief, or that Octavius would not willingly see his subaltern advanced in some measure above him, by an honour which was very singular, and of which the whole Roman History could only furnish three examples, it is certain that Crassus obtained no other rewards, than those which were granted in common to victorious officers, viz. the title of \* Imperator, a Supplication and a triumph. He was the son of the famous Crassus, whom we have had occasion to mention more than once.

I pass lightly over those facts which are here obscured by a number of others more remarkable, and shall only make mention of two more, which Florus has furnished us with.

While the Roman army was ranged in order of battle, opposite to that of the Mysians, one of the principal commanders of the Barbarians advanced, and cried with a loud voice, "Who are you?" He was answered, "We are the Romans, masters of all nations." "Before you can assume this title," replied the audacious Mysian, "you must first conquer us."

This boldness seemed to promise a vigorous resistance. But for all that, a mere bugbear (which is the second fact I promised to mention) disconcerted the Mysians, and made them fly immediately. A Roman centinel took it into his head, to put upon his helmet a pan of coals lighted, and flaming. He advanced thus towards the enemy, and the motion of his body augmenting the flames as it were by jerks, the credulous Barbarians imagined they had to do with a monster which vomited fire. All their courage could not support them against this object, which was scarce capable of frightening a child.

\* Dio seems to question the title of Imperator being given to Crassus. But this honour has been granted to private persons even under Tiberius.

These were the military exploits of Octavius and his lieutenants, from the defeat of Sextus Pompeius to the death of Antony. The affairs of the city between these two epochs, furnished also some remarkable events, the most important of which was the consulship of Agrippa.

All the offices had lost their glory and splendor under the triumviral government, which absorbed entirely the public power; and in particular the consulship, burdened with prodigious expences on account of the games, which they were obliged to exhibit to the people, fell into such discredit, that one Year of Rome 716. year passed without any ediles, because no body could have a title without power, and so expensive.

Agrippa undertook to recover the dignity of this magistracy by taking it on himself; and though he had Year of Rome 719. been Consul, he did not disdain a place which was greatly inferior, being persuaded that he should lose nothing by it, and the office would gain by it. Besides, the office of edile, which either regarded the embellishments and conveniencies of the city, or the pleasures of the multitude, was perfectly agreeable to that which Agrippa had to reconcile, more and more, the hearts of the citizens to the young Triumvir, his general and protector.

This he fully effected with great magnificence. Freinsh. CXXXI. 51, 52. First by the public edifices, which he repaired, or built anew. He repaired the ancient Aqueducts, which were almost fallen to ruin, and conducted a new one, to which he gave the name of Julius, for the space of fifteen miles, or fifteen leagues. In order to render commodious, and accessible, the waters which he conducted, or distributed to the city, he made seven hundred water-places, one hundred and five fountains, and one hundred and thirty reservoirs. So that there was scarcely a house in Rome that had not water in abundance; and all those works were adorned richly, and with taste. They reckon besides, three hundred statues of Marble or Brass, and four hundred marble columns. Agrippa was so fond

fond of embellishing the town, and all the places destined for publick use, that he wanted to have dedicated to that use all the statues and pictures in Rome. He pronounced a \* speech upon this subject, which was still preserved in the time of the elder Pliny; and to which this writer, charmed with so noble a project, gives the epithet of Magnificent, and truly worthy of the greatest of citizens. And certainly that was a much properer destination for those master-pieces of art than placing them in the gardens of country-houses belonging to private persons.

Every body knows the magnificence of the common sewers in Rome, built by the two Tarquins. These, by being neglected, were filled with nastiness, and stopped up in several places. Agrippa made so large a collection of water, that it formed, as it were, several torrents, which being let in by the openings of the sewers, and running with rapidity, carried off all the filth which had there been heaped up; and after this operation he embarked himself upon the sewers, which had been thus cleansed, and by a subterraneous navigation, went from one end to the other, to their opening into the Tiber.

The second object of Agrippa in his edileship, regarded the games and presents bestowed on the people. It is astonishing with what magnificence he acquitted himself of this part of his office. Shews of all kinds, plays, fighting of gladiators, courses in the Circus for the space of nine and fifty days; and during all that time, barbers and bath-keepers paid at his expence for the use of the citizens; an hundred and seventy baths kept open and in order at his expence, during the whole year; and provisions of all kinds purchased from the merchants, to be delivered as plunder to the people. In short, in the theatre he threw down a kind of lottery tickets, and those who

\* *Exstat ejus (Agrippæ oratio magnifica & maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis: quod fieri satius fuisse, quàm in villarum exsilia pelli. PLIN. xxxv. 4.*

brought



brought them to him received the contents; that is to say, of money, stuffs, moveables and other such things. He likewise adorned the Circus with statues of Dolphins, and what they called eggs; that is, very large masses shaped in form of an egg, and placed upon the pillars which were situated at the end of the course, and discovering themselves at a distance, directed the charioteers in their career, and marked out the place where they were to turn.

Among the shews given by Agrippa, that of the course, which the Romans called Trojan, deserves to be remarked. This diversion, as they alledged, came to them from Troy, and particularly interested Octavius, who boasted his origin from that famous city. It was for this, that Virgil has inserted in his fifth Æneid, a charming description of that exercise. It was performed by young persons of quality, and Agrippa engaged the Senators to consent that their children should begin to make themselves known there, to draw upon them the attention of the citizens.

These concerns, which seemed frivolous, and only calculated for pleasure, had nevertheless a serious effect, which was to make the government of Octavius to be beloved; and Agrippa was no less serviceable to his patron by these amusements, than by the exact policy which he caused to be observed in the city. He banished out of it astrologers and magicians, those publick plagues, which easily impose upon the credulous multitude, and breed uneasiness in the state as well as in families. Thus Agrippa, who was a skilful warrior, shewed himself also a very great magistrate; superior by these universal talents to Mæcenas, who, though he had some turn to military operations, yet made no great figure, except in the administration of civil affairs.

These two were the principal instruments of Octavius's grandeur. He had a perfect confidence in them; and as by way of seal, he made use of two stones engraved, with the representation of a Sphinx on

Dio. l. LI.

on each of them, and exactly alike, he kept one of them, and left the other at their disposal; so that they might write and order in his name whatever they judged agreeable. When he wrote himself to the Senate, his dispatches were first sent to them. They opened them, read them, and made what alterations they pleased, and afterwards sealed them and sent them to the Senate.

It was to Mæcenas chiefly, that the affairs of the city and Italy were particularly intrusted. Though by a modesty, I do not know whether real or affected, he never would be advanced above the rank of a simple knight, though he could easily have arrived at the highest dignities of the Republick. He had, however, more real power than the principal Senators, and those of consular authority. He was, during several years, Prefect of Rome, and by the authority of this office, which was created on purpose for him, he maintained a calm and peace in the capital, and in all Italy in the most boisterous times, and in spite of the discontent of the people, who were frequently loaded by his orders with taxes, which were very heavy, but necessary to support the vast expence of the war.

Every thing that belonged to Octavius shewed the splendor of his fortune. Thus his sister and his wife were honoured with statues by a decree of the Senate, and with the spoils which were acquired in the war against the Dalmatians, he caused to be built a Portico, to which he gave the name of his sister Octavia, and there he afterwards placed a very rich library. Some authors, however, give the honours of this library to Octavia herself, who wanted to consecrate by this monument the name of her son Marcellus.

During this time there were celebrated several triumphs by particular generals. The most memorable, and most justly deserved, were those of Statilius Taurus, and Sosius. The one had quieted Africa after the disgrace of Lepidus, and the other had conquered the Jews, and taken Jerusalem.

Dio.  
l. XLIX.  
Plut.  
Marcel.

Octa-

Octavius, according to Cæsar's example, created at this time new Patricians, to replace the antient families of the same rank, who perished in the civil wars, and were daily decreasing.

Though Atticus had always lived as a private man, without having ever possessed any office, yet the rank which his wit, virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct gained him in the esteem of the publick, and of the first persons in the Roman empire, make his character, in every respect, worthy of commendation, and his death deserving a place in this History.

Corn.  
Nep. in  
Vit. At.

He was, as we have already observed, a friend to Antony; and he had shewn it in the most critical circumstances, in consequence of which, his name was blotted out of the list of those proscribed by the Triumvir. Antony did still more, for he procured for him an illustrious alliance, and laboured effectually in bringing about a marriage between Agrippa and his daughter. From this marriage sprung Vipsania Agrippina, who, when scarcely a year o'd, was promised to Tiberius, son-in-law to Octavius. Thus Atticus saw his family nearly allied to the house of the Cæsars.

Keeping always faithful to this maxim, never to engage in the quarrels of the great, and to cultivate with them particular connections, he preserved to himself the friendship of both Octavius and Antony, who equally gave him the most distinguished and constant testimonies of the greatest esteem and regard.

The year which preceded their rupture, he was attacked with a fistula, for which he tried all the remedies then known, which only exasperated the disease. Being quite weary of suffering, he took up a resolution of starving himself to death, which he discovered to his son-in-law, whose tears and intreaties had no effect to prevent it. After he had abstained from eating for two days, the fever left him, and he found himself better. But the thing was determined on, and he was obstinate in dying. Like a true



## DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

Epicurean, he looked upon pain as the sovereign evil, and did not think it too much to purchase a deliverance from it, by sacrificing the remains of a languishing life.

He died at the age of seventy-seven, under the Consulship of Domitius and Sosius; and was a very singular man, having made a figure without office and superior talents; beloved of all the great, keeping himself always in a middle station, and behaving himself so equally amongst all parties, that he merited the friendship, even of those opposite chiefs, who made the most cruel wars against one another.

There remains no more for me to do at present but to add to the succession of the Consuls for these years, some particular remarks, which if placed elsewhere would interrupt the thread of the narration.

Appian.  
Civ. l. v.

At the time of the treaty of Misenum between the Triumviri and Sextus Pompeius, all the Consulships for these years had been disposed of beforehand. It had been said, that in the year of Rome 718, Antony would take upon him the Consulship a second time with Libo, father-in-law of Sextus; that in the year 719, Octavius would be Consul the second time with Sextus himself; in the year 720, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and last of all in 721, Antony and Octavius, who being then Consuls for the third time, would re-establish the antient government. This plan of the Consulship was accordingly followed only Sextus Pompeius, being killed before the year of his Consulship arrived, they substituted in his room L. Volutius Tullus; and likewise Antony was deprived of his third Consulship, on account of the war which broke out between him and Octavius. Messala supplied his place, and was colleague to Octavius when he was Consul for the third time. With regard to the second Consulship appointed to each of the two Triumviri, neither of them chose any thing more than the title, and they resigned it the very day they had taken possession of it. The triumviral power was abundantly sufficient for them; and the

Consulship, reduced to an empty title, was entirely useless.

I do not talk of the Consuls substituted each year to those who had begun it. We have no exact list of them, and it would be of little use to have them, with regard to the great events of the History, in which they can hardly be said to have any share.

But I ought not to omit observing here, that the five years of the second Triumvirship of Antony and Octavius expired the last of December, in the year 719, and that nevertheless, at the time of the treaty of Misenum, they had disposed of the Consulship for two years longer; which is a proof that their plan was to continue this tyrannical power, by renewing it as often as they should see occasion; and they were very sure of the suffrages of the people, whom they kept in subjection by the force of arms.

# THE ROMAN HISTORY.

## BOOK THE FIFTY-SECOND.

**T**HE war between Octavius and Antony.  
The battle of Actium. The conquest  
of Egypt. The death of Antony and  
Cleopatra. The triumphs of Octavius. Years  
of Rome 717—723.

### SECT. I.

*A league between Antony and the king of Media, who be-  
quarrelled with the king of the Parthians. Antony  
perfidiously lays hold of the king of Armenia. He con-  
quers Armenia. He returns to Alexandria, and there  
triumphs. Octavia leaves Rome to follow her husband.  
Cleopatra is alarmed at it. Her artifices to keep pos-  
session of Antony's affections. Octavia cannot obtain  
leave of Antony to visit him. She returns to Rome.  
Her noble behaviour. Antony in a pompous manner  
acknowledges Cleopatra for his lawful spouse; and de-  
clares the children he has by her kings of kings. Octa-  
vius lays hold of this to render him odious to the Ro-  
mans. Affairs grow more exasperated between Antony  
and Octavius. The Consuls, both friends of Antony,  
leave Rome to go and join him. Octavius gives a*



neral leave to depart, to all who chuse to follow their example. Pollio remains neuter. Antony's last journey into Armenia. He prepares to make war against Octavius. His alliance proves fatal to the king of Media. Antony's friends endeavour to persuade him to send back Cleopatra during the war, but are not able to prevail. Sumptuous and gay entertainments during the preparations for the war. A pearl dissolved in vinegar, and swallowed by Cleopatra. Honours decreed to Cleopatra by the Athenians. Antony sends orders to Octavia to quit his house at Rome. She obeys with tears. He neglects an advantageous opportunity of attacking Octavius. Plancius leaves Antony, and joins Octavius. Reproaches thrown upon Antony in the Senate. Antony's will read in the Senate, and to the people, by Octavius. Geminius, who was sent to Antony by his friends at Rome, is ill treated by Cleopatra, and leaves them. Silanus and Dellius leave Antony. Cleopatra's madness. Antony's excessive infatuation. A decree which deprives Antony of the Consulship, and the Triumviral power. A war declared against Cleopatra. Antony swears eternal war against Octavius. All Italy engaged by oath to serve Octavius against Antony. The whole year passes in preparations for war. The sea and land forces of the two parties. A challenge sent to Antony by Octavius. Antony answers it by another. Octavius assembles all his forces at Brundisium. He detaches Agrippa with a squadron to harass the enemy. He sets out himself with all his forces. He is very near surprising the enemy. The disposition of the two armies. Small skirmishes. Agrippa's fortunate expedition. Great desertions in Antony's camp. Abenobarbus leaves Antony's party. Antony becomes exasperated. Cleopatra laughs at Antony for suspecting that she intended to poison him. New losses which Antony sustains. He runs a risk of being taken. He resolves to try the fate of a naval engagement. The battle of Actium. The flight of Cleopatra. Antony follows her. The victory of Octavius. Antony's land-forces after a space of seven days submit to the conqueror. Mæcenat, who was

## CORNIFICIUS, POMPEIUS, Consuls.

*dispatched in pursuit of Antony, returns and sets out for Rome. Octavius is in no hurry to pursue Antony. He returns thanks to Apollo. The precautions which he takes with regard to the troops. His clemency with respect to those he had conquered. Metellus is saved by the intreaties of his son. A singular adventure of Marcus and Barbula. The motives of Octavius's clemency. He arrives at Athens and relieves Greece. A mutiny amongst his Veteran soldiers in Italy. He goes thither and quiets the mutineers. He returns into Asia and advances towards Egypt.*

The war between Antony and Octavius, which is the subject of this last book, being connected in several circumstances with the various efforts, which Antony made to revenge himself of the affront he had received in his expedition against the Parthians, I shall resume the thread of my narration with it.

A. R. 717.  
Ant. C.  
35.

L. CORNIFICIUS.  
SEX POMPEIUS.

Plut. Ant.  
Dio.  
l. XLIX.  
Strabo.  
l. XII.

**P**rosperity had occasioned a division between the kings of the Medes and Parthians. The dividing of the spoils of the Romans was the occasion of it; and the king of the Medes suspected that Phraates wanted only a subject of contention, by way of pretence to deprive him of his kingdom. Being apprehensive of this he had recourse to Antony; and Polemon, king of Cilicia and a part of Pontus, was employed in this negotiation with the Roman general. Polemon, son of Zeno, an orator of Laodicea, was one of Antony's creatures, and was indebted to him for his whole fortune. He came to Alexandria, and easily persuaded him, that with the assistance of the Median cavalry, he would certainly overcome the Parthians. Thus he spurred on his resentment against the king of Armenia, whose perfidy had left in him a strong desire of vengeance. The king of Media in the same manner breathed nothing but

## ANTONIUS II. LIBO, Consuls.

215

but destruction against the king of Armenia, whom he looked upon as the author of the war which Antony had made against him. Thus every thing was prepared for a new expedition in the higher Asia. But it was no easy task to free Antony from the pleasant enchantment of Cleopatra's charms. Thus the affair was put off till the year following, when he was made Consul for the second time conjointly with Libo.

A. R. 717.  
Ant. C.  
35.

M. ANTONIUS II.

A. R. 718.  
Ant. C.

L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

34.

He bent his whole efforts against the king of Armenia, and made no scruple to oppose perfidy to perfidy. As soon as the season would permit, he left Egypt, and, putting himself at the head of his troops, marched towards Armenia, sending letters however, and deputations before him to Artabazes, in order to engage him to come and join him, endeavouring to deceive him by specious promises, and false protestations of friendship, which he carried so far as to demand his daughter in marriage for one of his sons which he had by Cleopatra.

The king of Armenia, who was sensible of what he had deserved from him, and had at that very time entered into a secret negotiation with Octavius, put no confidence in Antony's caresses. He contrived excuses to elude his pressing invitations, and to avoid putting himself in the power of him whom he had offended. But the Roman general strengthened his solicitations by the terror of his arms, advancing with his troops towards Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. The surprize which this occasioned, determined Artabazes at last to go to the Roman camp, and try if the outward appearance of confidence would have any effect upon Antony's generosity.

He had soon occasion to repent of the step he had taken, for he saw himself immediately seized. Antony's pretence for it was, that he had need of money, in consequence of which he wanted, that the



A. R. 718.  
Ant. C.  
34.

treasures of the king of Armenia, which were kept in several fortresses, should be delivered up to him; and he could not expect to constrain those who had the care of them to a compliance, but by keeping their king a prisoner, and obliging them to purchase his liberty at the price of his treasures. Artabazes agreed to Antony's proposal, and being presented successively before the different fortresses, he ordered their gates to be opened. But the Armenian lords refused to obey those orders, which were manifestly extorted by violence; and seeing their sovereign captive, they proclaimed his eldest son Artaxias king in his stead. Upon this Antony put off the mask, and caused Artabazes to be put in chains of silver, affecting to preserve an outward shew of respect for the dignity of the king, whilst he was doing an open violence to his person.

Thus a war was declared, but it was neither of long duration, nor attended with difficulty on the part of Antony. Artaxias so newly placed on the throne, could not resist an enemy so superior in force, and whom they had imprudently received into the heart of the kingdom. He was intirely defeated in a battle, and obliged to retire into Parthia. Armenia submitted to the Roman yoke, and the whole family of Artabazes, his wife and children, became prisoners to Antony, all except Artaxias.

Such was the origin of the troubles which oppressed for a long time Armenia, continually shaken by two powerful empires, between whom it was situated, being successively invaded by the Romans and Parthians, without remaining fixed under the power of either; enjoying a precarious liberty only at intervals, but never an entire repose.

Antony finished his exploits this campaign, by the conquest of Armenia; and contenting himself with continuing his alliance with the king of the Medes, by the project of a marriage between one of his sons and a daughter of that prince, he left a sufficient number of troops in Armenia, to keep possession of

that

that kingdom, and returned with the rest into Egypt. A. R. 718.  
Ant. C.

There he made a trophy of a victory which the ancient Roman generals would have blushed at, and even had the assurance to transport into Alexandria a glory which till then had been reserved to Rome alone. He triumphed, though a Roman, in the capital of Egypt, in order that Cleopatra might share in the pomp, and receive all the honours of it. Thither they carried the spoils of Armenia; and there Artabazes appeared prisoner, bound in chains of gold, together with his wife and children, and several of the nobles of the kingdom, being all conducted to the feet of Cleopatra; who surrounded with a brilliant court, and a great multitude of spectators, was seated on a throne of gold, which supported an alcove of silver. Antony's intention was, that his prisoners should render humble obedience to the queen of Egypt, and prostrate themselves before her; but their haughtiness would not submit to this. Artabazes, though in this mortifying situation, still remembered that he was the son of the great king Tigranes, so that he would neither kneel before Cleopatra, nor in speaking to her give her the title of queen. This haughtiness of Artabazes mortified Antony, and became at last fatal to the captive king, who was sent to prison, and put to death soon after the battle of Actium.

The conquest of Armenia was only the beginning of Antony's designs; his chief aim being to subdue Parthia. Animated by his own resentments, spurred on by the solicitations of the king of the Medes, and flushed with the hopes of success, which by joining the Medean cavalry with his legions, was, in his opinion, unquestionably certain, he set out, and arrived in Syria, in the beginning of the second consulship of Octavius.

A. R. 719.

Ant. C.

33.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS II.

L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

In the beginning of this year, Octavia obtained leave of her brother to go and visit her husband. He granted her request, less from the motive of doing her a pleasure, in the opinion of most authors, than from the hopes that Antony would use her ill, and that thereby she would become the occasion, though innocently, of exciting against her faithless and ungrateful spouse, an universal discontent in the minds of the people, by whom she was very justly held in the greatest esteem. This artifice was of a piece with Octavius's temper, and he must have been sensible that he stood in need of it; for Antony, notwithstanding all his faults, had a considerable number of friends at Rome, and his reputation there was still very great. For this reason the young and artful Triumvir seems for some years immediately preceding the rupture between him and Antony, to have been entirely busied in effacing the too favourable impressions of his rival left in the Romans, both by laying hold of every occasion of rendering him odious, and making himself appear in as amiable a light as possible.

The effect which he promised himself from this journey of Octavia, turned out as he expected. As soon as she arrived at Athens, she received letters from Antony, ordering her not to proceed any farther; alledging, by way of excuse, the war which he was preparing to carry into the empire of the Parthians. Octavia was not deceived by that pretence, and she easily penetrated into the true reason of so mortifying an order. Mean while always submissive and full of good-nature, she only wrote to her husband to ask him where he chused to have the things sent to, which she had brought to him from Rome. These were cloaths for the troops, horses and mules for the baggage, money, and presents for the chief

com.



commanders and Antony's friends, together with two thousand choice men, well armed, richly equipped, and distributed into Prætorian cohorts for his guard. Niger, who was esteemed and respected by Antony, was the person who carried Octavia's letter; and with detail of the things I have just mentioned, he joined the praises justly due to her who sent them.

Cleopatra was alarmed. She was sensible that she must at least suffer a brisk attack from Octavia, who certainly would endeavour to regain Antony's heart. That princess was too quick-sighted not to discover what advantages a lawful wife, whose decent deportment, besides the influence of her brother's power, recommended her, must naturally have over her. She was afraid, lest Octavia by adding to such powerful charms, those of a sweet modesty, and a constant attention to please her husband, together with a certain easiness and dignity of behaviour, should gain the superiority.

The artful Cleopatra had recourse to a stratagem. She feigned herself so passionately in love with Antony, as to run a risk of dying by the apprehension of losing him; and she acted this comedy with a surprising address. She eat very little in order to make herself meagre; and affected a confusion whenever Antony approached, languishing after him always when he retired. In short, she contrived it so that he often surprized her weeping, but she immediately suppressed her tears, as unwilling to have them observed.

To heighten this dissimulation, she employed flatterers, who reproached Antony of being hard-hearted and cruel, in destroying a woman whose heart and fortune were entirely attached to him. "As for your marriage with Octavia," said they, "that was a political match, on account of her brother, and she enjoys the name and honour of your spouse; whereas Cleopatra, who is queen of so many nations, is called Antony's mistress. And she neither refuses nor disdains this name, provided she can  
" only

A. R. 719. "only have the satisfaction to see you, and pass her  
 Ant. C. "days with you. But if she must be deprived of  
 33. "that which is the only object of her wishes, you will  
 "infallibly ruin her, for she can never survive so sen-  
 "sible a misfortune."

This scheme of Cleopatra's was too artfully laid and too well concerted, for Antony to be able to avoid the snare. He was then in Syria, and he not only denied Octavia leave to visit him, but he also abandoned his expedition against the Parthians, and notwithstanding the favourable opportunity which the \* troubles of that empire presented him with, and his engagements with the king of the Medes, he wrote to that prince, that they must defer the execution of their design till another opportunity, and returned to Alexandria, for fear of occasioning the death of Cleopatra, whose dupe he was.

Octavia being rejected by her husband, returned to Rome; and her brother, who wanted only to increase the dissension betwixt them, advised her to leave Antony's house, and take an apartment where she might live retired, as if she had no husband. But the virtuous Octavia positively declared to him, that she would not leave her husband's house. She even begged of him, if he had no other reasons for making war against Antony, to forget every thing which personally regarded her. "For," says she, "it would be shameful that two such great and powerful generals, the one from the motive of love for a woman, and the other from that of jealousy, should throw the Roman state into a new civil war."

Octavia's conduct was agreeable to those general declarations. She continued in Antony's house, taking care not only of the children she had by him herself, but also of those of Fulvia. And whenever any of Antony's friends came to Rome, they always found her disposed to assist them, and to do them all the service she could with her brother. By this no-

\* An account of these will be given near the end of this book.

behaviour she hurt Antony, contrary to her intentions; for the more merit she shewed, the more people were exasperated at the affront she had suffered from him.

A. R. 719.  
Ant. C.  
33

Antony gave himself no trouble to quiet these complaints: on the contrary, he seemed to pride himself in exasperating the spirit of the Romans still more against him, by a pompous ceremony, of which the splendid and theatrical apparatus, quite contrary to the manner and maxims of the Romans, proclaimed to the world that he was no more himself, having forgot every thing else but Cleopatra.

He assembled the people of Alexandria in the Gymnasium \*, where there was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, who came to seat herself upon it cloathed, according to her custom, in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. Below were seats for the queen's children. There Antony distributed the crowns, and presently after, having solemnly protested that he took Cleopatra for his lawful spouse, he acknowledged and declared her queen of Egypt, of Lybia, of the island of Cyprus, and of Coelosyria, conjointly with Cæsario, whom he declared at the same time to be the true and lawful son of the Dictator Cæsar. Afterwards he gave to the two twins which he had by Cleopatra, Alexander and Ptolemy, the title of Kings of Kings. He appointed for Alexander's share, who was to marry the daughter of the king of the Medes, Armenia, which was lately taken from Artabazes, and, by a very ridiculous clause, the country of Parthia, as soon as it should be conquered. To Ptolemy he allotted a more certain establishment, viz. Syria, Phenicia, and also Cilicia. After this proclamation, the two new kings approached the thrones of Antony and Cleopatra,

\* A vast building, set apart in the towns of Greece for bodily exercises. It was in those gymnasia, or in the theatres, that the Greeks held their assemblies.

clothed



A. R. 719.  
Ant. C.  
33.

clothed in the royal robes of their respective countries; Alexander in a Medish dress, with a tiara on his head; and Ptolemy with the robes which were worn by the successors of Alexander, the slippers, military coat, and cap covered with a diadem. In this pompous dress they paid their respects to Antony and Cleopatra. After which they seated themselves, being each attended with a guard, the one of Armenians, and the other of Macedonians.

All sense of decency was so greatly extinguished in Antony, that after having acted this ridiculous scene in Alexandria, he was not ashamed to send an account of it to the Consuls at Rome, viz. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Sosius, who were both his friends.

A. R. 720.  
Ant. C.  
32.

Cn. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.  
C. SOSIUS.

The Consuls had more sense and discretion than Antony, and therefore suppressed his letters; but Octavius, who was informed by other hands of all that had passed, was at great pains to communicate it to the Senate and people. He was personally piqued at the honours bestowed upon Cæsar, whom he saw they affected to oppose to him as a rival, with regard to his quality of son and heir of Cæsar. And with respect to those objects which interested the publick, a queen acknowledged as a wife by a Roman General, and the title of King bestowed upon their children; large provinces dismembred from the empire, in order to augment Cleopatra's dominions, or to bestow them upon new kings; the pomp of the triumph transported from Rome to Alexandria; all this offered a fair field to Octavius to raise the hatred and contempt of the people against Antony.

The young and artful Triumvir laid hold of these advantages, without shewing any kind of regard for his adversary; and from thence arose disputes between them, which were a prelude to the war that very soon after broke out betwixt them. Antony reproached  
Octavius

Octavius in an outrageous manner, attacking him upon his birth, honour, and personal conduct, as may be seen in several places in Suetonius. He sent formal complaints against him to the Senate, alledging that he had used him ill in several particulars. The first article regarded the invasion of Sicily, which Octavius had taken from Sextus Pompeius, and kept to himself, without admitting any one to share it with him. The second regarded those vessels which Antony had furnished in that war; the restitution of which he affirmed was neither exact nor complete. In the third place, he complained of the deposing of Lepidus, their common colleague, whose spoils Octavius had appropriated to himself. And lastly, of the lands in Italy being distributed by Octavius entirely to his own soldiers, without allowing those of Antony to enjoy the least share.

These complaints had at least a specious appearance, and Octavius was at great pains to justify himself on all those articles. He alledged, that Lepidus very well deserved to be deposed for his unjust ambition, contrary to all their agreements. That with regard to the lands with which he augmented his district, he would share them with Antony, as soon as he should divide his conquests with him. With respect to the distribution of lands and colonies, he answered with a kind of insulting irony, that Antony's soldiers had no need of an establishment in Italy, since by their great and glorious exploits they had conquered Media and Armenia, which furnished them with a sufficient recompence for their trouble.

Thus we see that the enmity between the two Triumviri was carried to great excess. They mutually strove to decry each other, and to find out pretexts or reasons for commencing the war. Antony, who probably was sensible that the extremes to which his passion for Cleopatra carried him, were a great disadvantage to him, and gave a considerable superiority to his rival, contrived an expedient to regain the affections of his countrymen. He wrote to the Senate, that

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Ant. C.  
32.  
Suet. Aug.  
4, 7, 16,  
68, 69.  
&c.

A. R. 720.  
Ant. C.  
34.

that he was determined to abdicate the \* Triumvirship, as being a magistracy too powerful and absolute in a Republican state. And thus he spoke the reverse of his thoughts, his intention being only to regain the affections of the people, and at the same time to lay a snare for Octavius, who residing upon the spot, ought naturally to be the first to relinquish the Triumvirship, and who could neither agree to it nor refuse it without great embarrassments.

Liv. Epist.  
cxxx.

Octavius took very artful measures on this occasion. He discovered a middle way between two extremes which were equally dangerous, which was, to demand that Antony should come to Rome, in order to abdicate the Triumvirship according to his promise. This demand was certainly very specious, for in the situation they were in, with regard to each other, there was no security for either of the two to take this important step, unless it was done in concert, and at the same time. Besides, there was no place more proper for it than Rome, the centre both of the empire and of the whole publick power. This proposal therefore of Octavius seemed highly reasonable, though at the same time he ran no risk of being taken at his word. For though Antony had

\* Seeing Antony here offers to lay down the Triumvirship, he supposes himself at this time a Triumvir. Mean while the Triumvirship, which was established at first for five years, and was afterwards prolonged for five years more, ought to have expired, as I observed, at the close of the preceding book, the last day of December 719. It must consequently be imagined that there had been a second prolongation before this time. In short, I have observed in the same place, that from the time of the treaty of Misenum, Antony and Octavius had acted as if they ought to keep up the Triumvirship at least for twelve years. Appian has an expression at the end of his book of the wars of Illyrium, which confirms this opinion, that the prolongation was for more than ten years. On the other hand, the abridgment of Titus Livius's 131st book affirms, that they reproached Antony for not abandoning the Triumvirship, though the time of it was expired: which cannot be otherwise understood, than by supposing that after the ten years were expired, it was not lawful for Antony to consider himself as a Triumvir. There is in all this a confusion and obscurity which I am not able to remove, and which we should not meet with if the histories of those times were more exact, and composed by more accurate authors.



not been enslaved by the charms of Cleopatra, and confined by the ascendancy she had over him, he could not, without doing an injury to himself, come to Rome, where his rival had greatly the superiority, and could easily have crushed him.

These transactions between the two Triumviri occasioned long and violent debates in the Senate; for Antony had there a powerful party, and the two Consuls then in office were entirely devoted to him, as I have before observed; with this difference however, that Domitius, who had suffered a great many disgraces and misfortunes, and who having been harrassed for a long while by civil dissensions, knew well the danger of appearing zealous on those occasions, kept himself more moderate and reserved than the other. Sotius, on the contrary, who was always attached to Antony, and till that time enjoyed a constant flow of happiness, shewed all that pride which naturally results from a long series of good fortune. He openly opposed Octavius, and as this Triumvir consented himself to avoid being exposed, the Consul took the advantage of his absence, and would have passed a decree very hurtful to his interest, if the Tribune Balbus had not opposed it.

Octavius imagined that his patience would be construed as a weakness, and on the other side he was loath to make use of force, or seem to lay any constraint on the Senate. He came thither to seat himself between the two Consuls, but with the precaution of being attended by a number of his friends, armed with poniards under their robes. There he began with a modest declaration, and an artful apology for his conduct. Afterwards he inveighed against Antony, and Sotius, who was present, pretending to convict them of several attempts against him and the republic. He was heard with attention, but without the least mark of approbation. Observing that his speech was not attended with the designed success, he appointed a day in which he would produce, and

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
32.

read such pieces as would put Antony's designs in full and proper light.

The Consuls did not think it proper to wait for that day, imagining that it was indecent for them to listen quietly to such an accusation of Antony, when they durst not well testify their resentment against him. They therefore privately left Rome, in order to join Antony, being attended by several Senators.

Octavius was by no means displeased at this. It was a thing, to be wished for by him, that those who were friends to Antony should leave Rome and Italy rather than stay there perhaps to stir up disorder while he might be absent and busied in actions of war. Thus, making a shew of moderation which cost him nothing, he declared that he had not the least intention to retain any of those who wished to join Antony. Almost all the friends and relations of Antony accepted of the leave which was granted by Octavius. Pollio, who after the treaty of Brundisium, where he acted as plenipotentiary for Antony, had not in the least interested himself in his affairs afterwards; and being too proud to make his court to Cleopatra, and too grave to join in their foolish amusements, he constantly remained in Italy, did not think he was obliged to take part with Antony in the quarrel which was breaking out. But at the same time, judging it would be indecent for him to carry arms against his old friend and benefactor, he remained neuter. And when Octavius proposed to him to attend him in the war, he refused to do it. "I have done more for Antony," says he, "than he has rewarded me for; but his favours to me are better known than my services I have done him. I will therefore wait for the event, and run the risk of becoming the prey of the conqueror\*."

\* Mea in Antonium majora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia tiora. Itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham, & ero præda victoris. VELL. II. 36.

Domitius found Antony at Ephesus, making preparations for war, and assembling his naval forces. He had arrived there from Armenia, whither he had been led by the desire he had to put the last hand to his alliance with the king of Media, in order to attack conjointly the empire of the Parthians. But having received news from Rome, informing him that a rupture with Octavius was inevitable, he delivered himself up entirely to this object, and abandoned his intention of marching in person against the Parthians. He therefore only sent succours to the king of Media for pushing it, and in return received assistance from him for the war he was going to make against his colleague. At the same time he ordered Canidius to advance towards the sea with sixteen legions, and taking with him Jotapa, the daughter of the king of Media, who was designed for the spouse of his son Alexander, he went to Ephesus, where Cleopatra came to meet him.

I shall here observe by the way, that Antony's alliance became fatal to the king of Media. That prince, supported by the Roman troops which had been left him, gained a victory over the Parthians, and over Artaxias, whom they protected. But afterwards, Antony having recalled his troops, and not sending back those whom the king of Media had lent him, this prince was too much weakened, and could not support himself. He was vanquished and made prisoner, and thereby Artaxias restored to the possession of Armenia, and Media fell under the dominion of the Parthians. Thus ended the great projects which Antony had formed, and the efforts he made with regard to the East and the higher Asia.

Domitius on his arrival at Ephesus, endeavoured to persuade Antony to send back Cleopatra into Egypt. He was a person of very great weight himself, and besides, in this he only expressed to Antony what every one, who truly loved him, wished for. Cleopatra was afraid lest Antony should hearken to them, and if once she should be separated from him,



A. R. 720.

Ant. C

32.

Plut.

Anton.

Octavia would hinder him from renewing any negotiations of alliance and peace. In order to prevent this, she gained Canidius over to her party, and by the help of money, engaged him to speak in her favour. Canidius, for whom Antony had a great regard, and to whom he gave command of all his land forces, had the baseness unworthily to deceive his patron; who placed a particular confidence in him. He represented to him the important assistance which the queen could furnish; two hundred vessels, including store-ships, twenty thousand talents, and provisions for his whole army during the war. "I would neither be right," added he, "to fall out with a princess, who can procure you such great advantages, nor exasperate the Egyptians, who compose so great a part of your naval forces. And besides, in what is the queen inferior, either with regard to the talents of the mind or prudence, to any of the kings who accompany you in this war? During so many years which she has governed a powerful kingdom, being instructed both by your advice and example, she is no less remarkable for her conduct in great affairs, than for the charms of her person." Thus Antony was persuaded to retain Cleopatra, though contrary to his interest. For it was necessary, says Plutarch, that Octavius should remain conqueror, the decrees of Providence having so ordained it.

Ephesus was the general rendezvous of Antony's troops; and during the time they were assembling, he went over with Cleopatra into the island of Samos, there to abandon himself to foolish and ill-timed rejoicings; for while the kings, princes, people, and towns, from Syria and Armenia, as far as the Egean sea, had orders to send to Ephesus all the provisions necessary for war, at the same time all the musicians and comedians were obliged to go to Samos; and while almost the whole universe suffered a violent commotion, and was filled with cries and tears, a single city amidst that universal distress, minded

thing else but feasts, balls, comedies, and shews of all kinds, and echoed with the sound of vocal and instrumental musick, so that one would be at a loss to comprehend in what manner, and by what kind of rejoicing, they could celebrate a victory, when they gave such pompous and gallant feasts in preparing for a war.

We may easily conceive that these diversions were accompanied with the best of cheer, and extravagant entertainments; and I believe that a monstrous instance of the luxury and prodigality which we have transmitted to us by the elder Pliny, ought to be referred to the time I now speak of.

Antony's table was extremely \* sumptuous; meanwhile Cleopatra acting, says the author I have quoted, as a mistress and a queen, put on airs of disdain, and affected to despise the magnificent entertainments which Antony gave her. Being weary of this subject, he asked her one day if it was possible to add to the magnificence of his table. She answered him, that at one supper she could lay out 10000000 sesterces (about 62000 l. sterling.) Antony declared that he thought the thing was impossible; but she insisted upon it, and the wager was laid. The next day, which was fixed upon to determine this important problem, Cleopatra gave a supper, magnificent you may be sure, but not more so than Antony's commonly were. So that he already triumphed, and, with a sneer, desired her to shew him the bill. The queen answered him, that what had hitherto been served up was only a small part, for that she herself would consume the 10000000 sesterces, and at the same time she ordered the desert to be brought in. Upon which an officer, pursuant to the order he had received, set before her a cup of vinegar, so strong that it would dissolve pearls. Cleopatra had then two of the most

\* Hæc, quum exquisitis quotidie Antonius faginaretur epulis, superbo simul ac procaci fastu, ut regina meretrix, lautitiam ejus omnem apparatusque obtrectans, quærente eo quid adstrui magnificentiæ posset, respondit unâ se cenâ centies sestertium absumpturam.

A. R. 720.  
Ant. C.  
32.

beautiful pearls in the world, which at that very time she wore in her ears. She \* took one of them, and threw it into the vinegar, which having dissolved it she drank it off. After this she put her hand to the other pearl to do the same by it, but Plancus, a judge worthy of such a wager, laid hold of her arm, and saved that wonder of nature, by declaring that Antony had lost; an expression which, after the event, was interpreted as a presage of Antony's defeat at Actium. They add, that after Cleopatra fell into Octavius's hands, this pearl, which was saved by Plancus, was by command of the conqueror cut in two, in order to make pendants for the ears of a Venus in the Pantheon; and thus that † goddess was magnificently adorned with a jewel, which was only half the value of a supper of Antony's and Cleopatra's.

Antony having sent the comedians from Samos to Priene, there to remain and wait for him, came to Athens, where the shews and amusements were revived. Cleopatra was there intent upon another object. She was jealous of the honours which Octavia had there received; for the virtue of this lady had raised the admiration of all Greece, which loaded her with all possible testimonies of respect. The queen of Egypt, who could not merit them by the same means, substituted in their place caresses, and external marks of favour towards the Athenians, who were always fond of flattering persons in power. They made a decree comprehending all kinds of honours, which they bestowed on Cleopatra; and Antony was weak enough to carry it himself, and like an

\* I remember a similar instance related by Horace of the son of the comedian Æsop, who caused to be dissolved in vinegar a pearl, valued at a million of sesterces, and swallowed it.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,  
Scilicet ut decies solidam exorberet, auro  
Diluit insignem baccam. Quî sanior, ac si  
Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretve cloacum.

HOR. Sat. II. 3.

† Ut esset in utrisque Veneris auribus Romæ in Pantheo dimidiæ eorum cœna.

Athenian



Athenian citizen, to harangue the queen in the most flattering terms. But he had done the like before at Alexandria. A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
31.

It was at this time that he actually divorced Octavia, by sending an order to her to leave his house. She obeyed, taking with her all her husband's children, except the eldest, who was with Antony; and on leaving the house, she cried, and bewailed her fortune, being sincerely affected at finding herself one of the causes of the civil war. The Romans, who were spectators of this affecting scene, at the same time that they sympathized with her in her grief; deplored still more the blindness of Antony; they especially who had seen Cleopatra, and knew from ocular conviction that she was no way preferable to Octavia, either for her youth or beauty, could not conceive the reason of so fatal an enchantment.

Antony was infatuated in every respect; for he lost in diversions and debaucheries an opportunity which was very precious, as his adversary was not sufficiently prepared, and therefore feared an attack this campaign. In short, besides a great many things he wanted, the taxes which he levied upon the people of Italy, exasperated them against him. He demanded of the citizens the fourth part of their income, and the freedmen were obliged to pay him the eighth part of what they were worth. Those violent extortions were universally complained of; all Italy was in confusion, and he was even obliged to employ his soldiers to levy the money and appease the commotions. If Antony at such a crisis as this had made haste to approach him with those forces which he had, he might have put Octavius into very great danger; but his negligence of his own affairs, an inevitable consequence of foolish passions and too great love of pleasure, made him neglect so favourable an opportunity. Octavius had time to restore quiet in Italy, and reconcile to himself the minds of the people.

Thus he made preparations for war during this year very slowly, endeavouring at the same time to

A. R. 720.  
Ant. C.  
32.

run down his rival more and more, and to put a good face upon his own actions. Full of this scheme, he received with great pleasure a deserter of considerable weight, viz. Plancus, who came to deliver himself up to him, after having been a long time the intimate confident of Antony.

Plutarch excuses this conduct of Plancus, by alleging that it was owing to the fear of Cleopatra's resentment, on whose separation from Antony he had strongly insisted.

Vell. ii. 83. Velleius represents this affair in a very different light. He calls Plancus a traitor, who changed his party out of fickleness and a perfidious temper. Plancus, according to this historian, had been the most vile flatterer of Cleopatra, more low and servile to her than the meanest of her slaves. He did not refuse the most shameful offices in Antony's service, and he so far forgot the decency of his rank, as to equip himself like a sea-god, painted green, and naked, having his head bound with reeds, dragging a tail behind him, and dancing upon his knees. A venial wretch, who on every occasion sold himself to the highest bidder. It was not then the love of the publick, nor esteem for the best party, that determined a man of this character to leave Antony for Octavius; but Antony having reproached him at a feast, for his notorious rapines and extortions, he was afraid, and avoided by flight the punishment which his misdeameors deserved.

This is Velleius's account of the matter, who had an opportunity of knowing Plancus very well, and paints very naturally. Besides, his account may be easily reconciled with that of Plutarch; for there is nothing to hinder us from thinking, that Plancus probably advised sending away Cleopatra from the war, and that Antony's anger on that account might burst out into those reproaches, which were but too well founded.

Whatever was the motive that detached Plancus from Antony's friendship, Octavius concerned him-  
self

A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
32.

self very little about that. But he was delighted at having in him, and in Titius, his nephew, the murderer of Sextus Pompeius, witnesses and accusers against Antony, whom his interest obliged him to render as odious as possible. For these two deserters, according to the practice of such men, who, in order to justify their own conduct, never fail to blame the party they have left, railed with open mouths in the Senate against Antony, and laid a thousand atrocious things to his charge. This occasioned a grave reprimand from an old Prætor, named Coponius. "To \* be sure," says he, "Antony became very culpable the evening before you left him."

Plut. An-  
ton. Dio.  
l. L.

Octavius listened to those speeches with the greatest satisfaction; and Cluvius, one of his partizans, seconded what had been said, laying a great many accusations to his charge, which all sprung from Antony's foolish passion for Cleopatra. He said he had given her the library of Pergamus, consisting of 200000 volumes; that he had suffered the Athenians to salute her in his presence by the titles of queen and mistress; that frequently during the time he gave orders to princes and kings, he received from her love-letters, and read them before them; that upon a certain occasion, when Furnius, a person of considerable rank, and the most eloquent among the Romans, pleaded before him, Cleopatra happened to appear, and crossing the Forum in a litter, Antony left the assembly to follow her, and laying his hand upon the litter he went along with her. These reproaches, which among us would appear very trifling, were judged to be very serious among the Romans, and it was not by extenuating, but by denying them, that Antony's friends, who remained still in Rome, undertook to excuse him.

But there was nothing that pleased Octavius better, or gave him more occasion of triumph, than An-

\* Multa mehercule fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relin-  
geres. VELL. II. 33.



A. R. 710.  
Ant. C.  
32.

Antony's will, the articles of which he was informed of by Titius and Plancus, who had signed it as witnesses. This will was deposited with the Vestals, and Octavius demanded it of them. They refused to deliver it up, but told him, that if he chose to come and take it himself, they neither could hinder him, nor would attempt to do it. He did so, read it first himself, and having carefully marked those articles which were most liable to be criticised, he read it in full Senate and before all the people: but not without being censured by a great many, who thought it very strange that a man, who was still alive, should be obliged to be accountable for what he ordered to be executed after his death. However, several of those articles were so ridiculous, that they were more struck with the indecency of them, than with Octavius's irregular manner of proceeding.

Antony therein confirmed Cæsario the lawful son of Cæsar and Cleopatra. He bequeathed immense legacies to his children which he had by her, and what shocked the Romans most was, his ordering, in case he should die in Rome, that his body, after the usual honours were paid to it in the Forum, should be transported to Alexandria, and delivered to Cleopatra, by whom he desired to be buried.

Antony's friends observing that the minds of the people began to be disgusted at him, had recourse to prayers and entreaties with them; and, in the mean time, sent Geminus, one of the party, to make the last effort upon their chief, and engage him not to cause himself to be ignominiously deprived of his office, and declared an enemy to the publick. Cleopatra, seeing Geminus arrived, guessed the cause of his journey, and looking upon him as Octavia's agent, she did whatever lay in her power to disoblige him, affronting him perpetually with her insulting raillery, and appointing him always the lowest place at their entertainments. Geminus waited very patiently till he should have an audience; but at last being called upon in the middle of a feast to explain himself,

"The affairs I come to negotiate," said he, "are not of a nature to be treated of at table; but one thing I am convinced of, whether merry or sober, viz. that every thing will go very well if you send back Cleopatra into Egypt." Antony was in a passion, and Cleopatra, without being moved, said to Gemini-  
 us, "You have done very right to own the truth, and save yourself from being put to the torture." Gemini-  
 us being afraid, made his escape in a few days, and returned to Rome. A great many others took the same resolution with him, not being able to bear the insolence of Cleopatra's flatterers, who affronted them upon every occasion.

A. R. 730.  
 Ant. C.  
 32.

Plutarch mentions particularly M. Silanus, who was afterwards Octavius's colleague in the Consulship; and Q. Dellius, whom he calls the historian; but he is better known by the title which Messala gave him, of the \* Tumbler of the Civil Wars; because he had left Dolabella for Cassius, Cassius for Antony, and now Antony for Octavius. Dellius was the first who had been dispatched by Antony to Cleopatra, to order her to come and give an account of her conduct. I have before related in what manner he acquitted himself of his commission. He not only suspected that the charms of this princess would render her mistress of Antony's heart, but he was also sensibly smitten with them himself. Seneca, the father, quotes several gallant letters from Dellius to Cleopatra. Towards the latter end of the time that he was with Antony, he offended Cleopatra, by an expression which escaped him at an entertainment. He said, that they had only a thin tart wine for their cheer, while Sarmenus, which was the name of a buffoon who diverted Octavius, and whom Horace has rendered famous) drank of the best Falernian wine at Rome. This reflection affronted Cleopatra very much, and Dellius pretended, that he was informed by a physician, named Glaucus,

Hor. Sat.  
 I. 6.

\* Dellium Messala Corvinus desultorum bellorum civilium vocat.  
 in, Sueton. I.

that

A. R. 720.

Ant. C.

32.

that his life was not safe. Perhaps he told the truth and perhaps he invented this story to excuse his perfidy. Cleopatra was wicked enough to endeavour to destroy him, but Dellius hardly seems to have been so much in haste as to give us so little security enough for us to depend upon his word.

Rome echoed with complaints and reproaches against Antony. His old adversaries, as well as those who had lately deserted his party, all joined in condemning him; and his own conduct was still more hurtful to him than all the speeches which were made to his disadvantage. A slave to Cleopatra, he appeared to have no other will than that of his queen, who had the assurance to promise herself the empire of Rome and who, when she wanted to confirm an oath, swore by the laws she would dictate in the capital to the whole universe. She had already a Roman guard of the soldiers of which had her name engraved upon their bucklers. Octavius had then a sufficient foundation to make the Romans fear, that Antony, in case he became conqueror, would subject them to Cleopatra, and transfer the seat of the empire from Rome to Alexandria. Antony seemed entirely to have forgot that he was a Roman. He had laid aside not only the manners and maxims, but even the dress of his country. He frequently appeared upon a throne of gold, clothed in the manner of the eastern princes, all glittering with purple and precious stones, a Median sabre by his side, a golden sceptre in his hand, and, if we may believe Florus, a diadem upon his head. He had abolished the use of the name of Pretorium, which signified with the Romans the tent and apartment of a general in camp, or the habitation of the sovereign magistrate in the provinces, substituting in its stead \* one which signifies a royal tent or habitation, as if he had yielded the preheminent and right of command to Cleopatra. In short, in the same manner as Cleopatra gave herself out for the goddess Isis, and assumed the attributes of that goddess

\* Basilian.

\* I an  
wrote on  
He imita  
threw hin



er person, in the pictures and statues which were made for her, Antony caused himself to be painted by her side, or represented either in brass or marble, with the symbols which characterised Osiris.

Antony, industrious in rendering himself odious to the Romans by so many different methods, succeeded at last in ruining himself. Octavius obtained a decree to deprive him of the Consulship, which he was to have enjoyed the following year, and likewise of the Triumviral power. He did not cause him to be declared an enemy to the publick, either because he durst not push matters to that extremity, being afraid of the friends which Antony had still at Rome; or, which appears to me more probable, in consequence of that system of moderation which he had prescribed to himself, ever since his victory over Sextus Pompeius. If Antony had been declared an enemy to the publick, all those who were attached to him, among whom were several persons of distinction, would have been involved in the same condemnation; but Octavius had no intention to lose them, and was very glad, on the contrary, to leave them an open passage to return to him. He even wanted that the decree, which was issued against Antony, might promise impunity, and signify an approbation to those who should leave him.

It was therefore against Cleopatra \* alone that the war was declared. They put on the military robe in Rome, as for an imminent danger, which greatly interested the safety of the Republick; and all the ceremonies of a declaration of war in form, were solemnly observed.

Octavius, in a speech which he made to the people on this subject, affected to say, that Antony enchanted by a sorceress was no more himself; and that the chiefs of the war against the Romans would be the

\* I am surpris'd that Horace, in a great number of verses which he wrote on this war, never so much as once mentioned Antony's name. He imitated the reserve of his patron in this point; but Virgil did not shew himself so circumspect.

A. R. 720. Eunuch Mardion, Cleopatra's milliner, and her wait-  
 Ant. C. ing-woman, who would direct the greatest affairs in  
 32, the empire. Thus all this discretion shewn to An-  
 tony, who was not once mentioned in the declaration  
 of war, tended only to render him contemptible, and  
 at the same time more reproachable and odious, see-  
 ing that without being personally attacked, he must  
 take part against his country and fellow-citizens for  
 a strange woman.

Antony understood perfectly well the bad intention  
 of the shew of moderation which his enemy affected  
 towards him; and being extremely provoked, he de-  
 manded a new oath of his troops, and swore himself  
 solemnly at the head of his army, that he would never  
 make either peace, or even a truce, with Octavius.  
 He added, that he would abdicate the Triumvirship  
 two months after the victory. Tho' he was far from  
 having a sincere intention to perform this promise, he  
 resisted a long time the importunity of his soldiers,  
 who wanted he should allow himself the term of six  
 months; and it was with the greatest marks of seem-  
 ing reluctance that he gave his consent to it. The  
 malice was no less violent on the other side. All  
 Italy engaged itself by oath to serve Octavius in the  
 Suet. Aug. 70. war against Antony. Only the city of Bologna,  
 which had always been under the protection of An-  
 tony's family, asked and obtained leave not to enter  
 into this league against its patron.

The whole year passed in these preparations for war,  
 without any actual hostility committed on either side.  
 Octavius wanted to have time to make himself sure of  
 Italy, and to take all the necessary precautions for  
 preventing the commotions which his absence might  
 occasion. He had the more reason to be afraid of  
 these, as he knew that Antony, whom the opulent  
 countries of Asia and the East furnished with immense  
 riches, had sent considerable sums to Italy, and even  
 to Rome itself, in order to re-animate the courage of  
 his ancient friends, and gain him new ones if possible.  
 This determined Octavius to distribute a gratification  
 to

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to his soldiers, to strengthen their fidelity against any attempts of the enemy that might be made to corrupt them. He likewise placed troops in such places as he suspected, or were exposed to the insults of the enemy. All which required a great deal of care and time.

Antony by his effeminacy and negligence delayed entering upon action. Towards autumn he arrived at the island of Corcyrus, and having learned that the enemy's vessels appeared upon the neighbouring coast, though there was only a few of them sent for intelligence, he supposed that Octavius's whole fleet was at sea, and retired towards Peloponnesus. There he put his troops into winter quarters, and spent that season himself at Patras.

Affairs were in this situation when Octavius took possession of his third Consulship, having Messala for his colleague, who was substituted in the room of Antony.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS III.

A. R. 721.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

Ant. C.

31.

There never were such powerful and numerous forces, both by sea and land, seen assembled for any war, whether foreign or domestick, as those with which Antony and Octavius prepared to attack each other.

Antony had 100,000 foot and 12000 horse, in which number the auxiliary troops that were sent from the kings, his allies, were not included. Bogud, king of a part of Libya, Tarcondimotus, king of the higher Cilicia, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates, of Commagena, and Amyntas, of Galatia, served in person in his army. Herod, king of the Medes, Malchus of Arabia, and Polemon, whom Antony had made king of part of Pontus and Cilicia, had sent him succours. His fleet amounted to 500 vessels of war, a great many of which had from eight to ten

rows



A. R. 721. rows of oars, sumptuously adorned, according to the  
 Ant. C. taste of magnificence and even luxury, which ap-  
 31. peared in every thing about him.

Octavius's forces were not so considerable. His land army consisted of 80,000 legionary soldiers, with cavalry equal to that of Antony. His fleet did not exceed 150 vessels, and they were a great deal smaller than those of Antony, but better built, more nimble, and far better manned with sailors and rowers, who understood how to work them perfectly well. Whereas those large hulks in Antony's fleet were half empty, had no body to steer them, but such as they had picked up, the greatest part of them forced into the service, and had never seen the sea; as reapers, muleteers, and young men almost boys, whom they pressed upon the roads, dispeopling Greece, without being able at last to put on board a sufficient number.

The whole Roman Empire was shaken by this war; the eastern part of it rushing against the west. Antony's dominions reached from the Euphrates and Armenia as far as the Ionian sea; and to these vast regions must be added, Egypt and Cyrenaica. Octavius had on his side Africa, from the district of Cyrene as far as the great sea, Spain, Gaul, Illyrium, Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. But Italy did not furnish him with forces only; it was also a great support, and a very advantageous ornament to his party, as Virgil expresses it, when describing the battle of Actium, he represents, on one side, \* Augustus † leading Italy to the fight, accompanied by the Senate and people, the household gods

\* Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prœlia Cæsar,  
 Cum Patribus populoque, Penatibus & magnis Dis.  
 Hinc ope barbaricâ variisque Antonius armis.  
 Victor ab auroræ populis & litore rubro,  
 Ægyptum, viresque orientis, & ultima secum  
 Bactra vehit; sequiturque, nefas! Ægyptia conjux.

VIRG. ÆN. l. viii.

† Octavius had the name of Augustus when Virgil wrote these verses,

of Rome, and tutelar deities of the empire; and, on the other, Antony dragging after him barbarous nations, a thousand different kinds of armour, Egypt, the East, Bactria, and, to compleat the ignominy, an Egyptian spouse, who followed, or rather commanded him.

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
31.

By the account which I have given of the forces of the two parties, it appears that both generals had grounds to hope for victory. In this each of them discovered a strong confidence, in which policy had as great a share as conviction. Octavius, who was neither proud nor vain-glorious, sent a challenge however to Antony; and whilst his vessels were still in the ports of Tarentum and Brundisium, he proposed that he should come to Italy, offering to leave the necessary ports and roads free for his fleet, and to go from the sea-coast to the distance of a day's journey on horseback, concluding with a promise of giving him battle in five days after they were disembarked; and in case this proposal was not agreeable to Antony, he demanded to be received into Epirus on the same terms. Antony did not accept of either of these proposals, but, on the contrary, made a jest of them. "For who shall be the judge," said he, "if either of us should fail in any article of the convention?" But in order to be even in rhodomontade with an enemy whom he never granted to be brave, he challenged him to a single combat; or, in case a general battle should be more agreeable to him, he proposed that they should transport their armies to the plains of Pharsalia, in order to decide their quarrel at the same place where Cæsar and Pompey formerly terminated theirs.

These were frivolous proposals, and could never be put in execution, though perhaps they had their use, by encouraging the soldiers on both sides.

Mean time the fine season began to come in, and it was now time to enter upon action. Octavius assembled at Brundisium, and the neighbourhood of it, not only all his troops, but those who were the most distinguished,

As R. 731.  
Ant. C.  
31.

distinguished, and had the most influence amongst the orders of Senators and Knights. He purposed to employ the Knights in his service, and to secure to himself the fidelity of the Senators by keeping them about his person. At the same time, he was delighted with shewing openly to the whole universe, that the chiefs and body of the Roman empire were unanimously interested in support of his cause.

With regard to the embarkation, his chief care, according to the example of his great uncle, was to prevent the vessels being loaded with a number of useless persons and superfluous provisions. He therefore regulated the number of slaves which each officer or Senator was to take with him, and the quantity of provisions they were to furnish themselves with.

When every thing was ready for the general departure, he detached Agrippa at the head of a numerous squadron to harraiss the enemy. That brave commander acquitted himself nobly and successfully of his commission. He made descents on several places in Greece, took by force Methona\*, a considerable town of Peloponnesus, and defended by a good garrison. Bogud, king of Mauritania, was killed on this occasion. But the most important exploit of Agrippa in this expedition, was his seizing a large convoy of provisions and warlike stores which was coming to Antony from Syria and Egypt. After so happy an opening of the campaign, Agrippa returned to rejoin Octavius, who, encouraged by those first successes, made haste to go in search of the enemy with all his forces.

They set out all together, and covered the Ionian sea with a prodigious number of vessels and transports, for carrying into Greece fourscore thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and likewise ships of war to the number of two hundred and fifty. The land army disembarked at the † Ceraunian moun-

\* Now called Modon,

† The mountains of Chimera.



trains, and had orders to march along the coast as far as the gulf of \* Ambracia. Octavius himself, at the head of his naval forces, having taken possession, in his voyage, of Corfica, which was abandoned by the enemy, stopt to refresh himself in a † port formed by the river Acheron, where it falls into the sea. There he appointed the general rendezvous of his fleet, and soon after he sailed towards the promontory of Actium.

Though he might very naturally have been expected there about that time, yet he was very near surprizing Antony, whose fleet then lay at anchor near that cape. Antony had nothing ready; his legions were not arrived, and his vessels could hardly be rowed for want of a sufficient number of hands, and even those had perished every day with hardships and diseases, especially such of them as were forced into the service, and were therefore obliged to apply to a painful labour they were not accustomed to. They relate a very cruel and inhuman expression of Antony on this subject. When they told him that more than a third of his seamen were dead, ‡ “Provided they preserve the oars,” said he, “we shall never want hands to work them whilst there are men in Greece.” If it be true that Antony expressed himself in so cruel and brutal a manner, he very well deserved the misfortunes which fell upon him.

During the universal confusion which the sudden arrival of Octavius occasioned, Cleopatra amused herself in affected gaieties, which would hardly deserve to be taken notice of here, if it was not an instance of the character of that princess, equally ridi-

\* Gulf of Arta.

† This port was called the SWEET Port, either because the water there was sweet, or on account of the rivers which discharged themselves there, or the fountains which spring from it. It is placed in the map of Greece by M'Danville, by the name of Glycys Limen, which is a Greek name wrote in Roman characters.

‡ Remi modò salvi sint. Nam remiges non deerunt, quod Græcia homines habuerit. OROS. vi. 19.

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Ant. C.  
31.

culous and contemptuous. When they told her with great concern that the enemy had taken possession of Torynum, a small town, whose name in Greek signifies a Ladle, she punned upon the word, "We have great reason to be afraid," said she, "now that Cæsar has possession of the Ladle." This insipid allusion of her's would not have saved the fleet. But Antony made amends for his negligence by his skill and presence of mind. He had only a very few troops on board his vessels, and if he had been attacked, he must certainly have been destroyed. In order to deceive an enemy whom it would have been impossible to resist, he armed his rowers, and made them come upon the deck, where he ranged them in good order. At the same time he caused the oars to be suspended in such a manner, as that the blades might appear in the air on both sides of the vessels. This feigned appearance imposed upon Octavius, and determined him to retire, being persuaded that Antony was in a proper condition to receive him.

Octavius had a double intention in that sudden and unexpected motion which he made. He expected either to obtain some advantage by force, or to gain over to his side some of Antony's troops. But not having succeeded in either of these views, he determined to establish himself and fortify his camp on the north side of the gulf of Ambracia, where he afterwards built the town of † Nicopolis; and from his camp he drew three lines of communication with the port of Comarus, upon the Ionian sea, at a little distance from the port which was formed by the river Acheron. Antony occupied the two points which commanded the entrance of the gulf; there he had raised towers or forts, keeping a strict guard upon the mouth of the harbour with his vessels, so that he could go in or out of the gulf when he pleased. His camp was extended in the plain below Actium, separated from that of the enemy by the breadth of the same gulf.

\* Now called Preveza.

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Ant. C.  
31.

The two armies remained a great while in this position before Octavius could bring Antony to a battle. The same reason determined them both, the one to engage, and the other to shun it. Antony's troops were not yet all assembled, and it was as much his interest to wait for those which he expected, as it was his enemy's to prevent their joining him. All therefore which happened for some time were little skirmishes, small rencounters among the cavalry, and captures of store-ships, without any action of importance.

As soon as Antony had assembled all his forces, he discovered more confidence. He transported part of his army to the other side where the enemy were, and there formed a camp, leaving however his chief forces in his old camp near Actium. Then Octavius shewed less ardour in pressing an engagement; but while he kept himself quiet, he had always some detachments, both by sea and land, in action. In order to harass Antony, and oblige him if possible to quit the post he occupied, he sent several bodies of troops into Greece and Macedonia; and Agrippa, by his order, having put himself at the head of a powerful squadron, took possession of \* Leucate, together with the vessels which he found there; subjected Patras, and even Corinth itself.

Agrippa's success made the balance incline to Octavius's side, and staggered the fidelity of a great many of Antony's friends; desertions became very frequent in his army, and some illustrious personages, such as Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, and Amyntas king of the Galatians, left him to go over to the enemy's camp. But no revolt made so sensible an impression on him, as that of Domitius Ahenobarbus. He was the most distinguished of all Antony's friends, both by his birth, rank, and noble courage. He would never stoop to make his court to Cleopatra, and was the only person who, whenever he spoke

\* The cape of St. Mauro.



A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
31.

to her, called her always by her name. In consequence of this behaviour, he met with a thousand disgusts from that haughty princess every day. The aversion which this gave him, and perhaps the fear of an unfortunate event, to which he saw every thing tended, engaged him to go in quest of more respect and a better fortune in Octavius's party. Though he was at that time ill of a fever, he threw himself into a boat, and happily passed over. Antony was much provoked at it, and revenged himself by ridiculing Domitius, attributing his flight to his impatience to visit a freed-woman whom he loved, and without whom he could not live. In other respects he behaved very generously towards him, and, contrary to Cleopatra's advice, he sent after him all his equipage, and every thing belonging to him. Domitius died very soon after, without having time to be of any service to Octavius, if we except that his example weakened the esteem of the party which he abandoned, and was a motive for others to do the same.

The great number of desertions exasperated Antony, and pushed him on to cruelty. Upon suspicions which I think doubtful whether they were well founded or not, he tormented to death Jamblichus, king or prince of a country in Arabia; and he delivered over a Senator, called Quintus Posthumius, to the fury of a number of mad people, who tore him in pieces like so many beasts of prey.

Plin. xxi.  
3,

Antony's peevishness extended itself even to Cleopatra, and he began to \* distrust her. By one of those vicissitudes which violent passions commonly produce, he passed from one extreme to another; and she, to whom he had submitted all his inclinations, became suspected by him of having a design to poison him. In consequence of which, whenever he eat with her, he ordered every thing that was served up to be tasted before him. Cleopatra made a jest of these precau-

\* Pliny dates this in general from the time of the preparations for the war of Actium, "in apparatu Actiaci belli," and I find no place more proper for inserting it than this.

tions, and diverted herself by proving to him that they were of no use. Once at a feast she put upon her head a garland of flowers, which were poisoned at their extremities; and when they were full of mirth and gaiety, she desired Antony, according to a custom used among people of pleasure, to drink garlands; that is, to drink wine in which garlands had been steeped. Antony agreed to it, and taking that which Cleopatra wore, he stript off the flowers, and throwing them into the cup, he was just going to drink, when the queen laying hold of his arm said to him, † “I am the person against whom you take the precaution of this new method of ordering every thing you eat and drink to be tasted. If it was possible for me to live without you, could I want opportunities or means of destroying you?” At the same time she caused a criminal to be brought in, who was ordered to drink the wine in Antony’s cup, and expired immediately. A jest of this kind, one would think, must have had something in it disagreeable to a suspicious man; but Antony drew no unfavourable conclusion from it; on the contrary, he renewed his former blind confidence in Cleopatra.

At the same time he met with some new losses, which increased his uneasiness about the success of the war. Sosius having engaged in a sea-fight was beaten, and the king Tarcondimotus there lost his life. Antony himself had no better success in a small action of the cavalry, where he was in person. In short, he ran a risk of being taken and falling into the hands of Octavius. The affair happened in the following manner.

He was situated near the enemy, in the camp he had formed on the north side of the gulf, and he frequently went without much precaution from the camp to his fleet, trusting himself to the pallisadoed lines, which maintained the communication from the

† En ego sum, inquit illa, Marce Antoni, quam in novâ prægustantium diligentia caves: adeo mihi, si possim sine te vivere, occasio aut ratio deest?

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
31.

one to the other. Octavius was informed of it, and placed an ambuscade, which were very near seizing Antony; for the person who immediately preceded him was taken, and he saved himself with difficulty by running with all his speed. This adventure determined him to return to his old camp, at the foot of the promontory of Actium.

Seeing his affairs become more and more ruinous every day, besides a famine which began to spread in his army, he concluded that he ought to change his plan of the war entirely. He therefore called together a grand council, to deliberate what was to be done in such a conjuncture. Dio assures us, that Cleopatra's advice was to march back all the troops into Egypt, leaving only garrisons in the most considerable posts and towns in the countries they were to quit. A shameful and foolish advice, which I cannot believe even Cleopatra herself durst propose to Antony. Mean while this historian adds, that the Roman general consented to it; and that the battle of Actium, which followed soon after, happened in spite of Antony, when he had an intention to retire, and not to fight. This account, of which I do not find the least hint in any other author, appears to me very improbable, and I rather chuse to follow that of Plutarch, according to whom the resolution of giving battle having been taken and confirmed, they only deliberated whether they ought to fight by land or sea.

Antony had much more reason to put confidence in his legions, hardened by so many battles, than in a fleet which was ill equipped, ill manned, and till that time had met with no manner of success. This was also the opinion of Canidius, who at the approach of danger, forgetting his complaisance to Cleopatra, advised his general to send her back, and to retire himself into Thrace or Macedonia, there to determine the quarrel by a general battle in the open field. He represented that, in this case, Dicomus, king of the Getæ, promised powerful assistance; that it was not the



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the least dishonourable for him to abandon the sea to Octavius, to whom the wars against Sextus Pompeius had afforded an opportunity of becoming skilful in sea-affairs; and that it would be very strange if Antony, who had such great experience in land-fights, did not take the advantage of the force, number, and courage of his legions, but on the contrary put his whole confidence in his fleet.

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
31.

Such solid reasons as these would doubtless have made an impression upon Antony, if he had still been capable of judging for himself; but he saw nothing but by Cleopatra's eyes, nor determined upon any thing but according to her directions. This artful princess, who considered only her own interest, absolutely wanted a naval engagement, never minding what might be the most effectual means to render Antony victorious, but how to procure a speedy and safe flight in case of bad success.

It was then resolved that they should prepare themselves for a sea-fight, and as the number of Antony's sailors and rowers were far from being sufficient for his number of vessels, he picked out as many of the best ships as he could well man, and burnt all the rest. Thus his fleet was reduced to 170 vessels, and even these were not compleatly equipped. And after adding Cleopatra's 60 galleys, he was still inferior to the enemy, who had 260 vessels; but as his were larger and loftier built, he reckoned that advantage would make up for the deficiency in the number. He embarked on board this fleet twenty thousand legionary soldiers and two thousand archers, taking care to cause the most illustrious of those who were with him to go on board, in order that it might be more difficult to go over to the enemy, in case they should be tempted to imitate the example which several had set before them.

Orof. vi.  
10.

It is related, that during the embarkation an old Centurion who had always been firmly attached to Antony, and having fought for him, and under his eye on a great many occasions, was almost covered with

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
31.

scars, when he saw him approach, burst into tears, and spoke to him as follows. " My general, why do you despise these wounds which I have received in fighting in obedience to your orders, and this sword which has served you so faithfully, and place your confidence in a frail piece of wood? Leave the Egyptians and Phœnicians to combat by sea, but as for us Romans, the land is our element. Give us the land on which we are accustomed to fight resolutely, ready to vanquish, or to die." Antony made no reply to this, but putting on an air of serenity, made a sign with his hand to the officer to have good courage, and went away to inspect the embarkation.

He recommended to this officer an assurance which he had not himself, and they remarked that when the pilots wanted to leave the sails on shore, the oars being sufficient for the fight, he ordered them to be carried on board, under pretence that they must not suffer any of the enemy to escape by flight.

Octavius on his side prepared for the engagement, being very sensible of the advantage which the enemy gave him, by offering him battle by sea. But notwithstanding the desire of the two generals to engage, the stormy weather prevented them for the space of four days. At last, the fifth day, which was the second of September, happening to be clear, serene, and very calm, gave the two generals an opportunity of determining which of them should remain master of the universe.

Antony ranged his fleet before the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia; giving the command of the right wing to Gellius Publicola, that of the left to Sosius, and trusting the centre to M. Octavius and M. Lepidus. The post he reserved to himself was to go about from one place to another, wherever his presence should be necessary. Pliny relates, that while he distributed his orders, a small fish, called a Remora, stopt his vessel, and obliged him to go into another. This magical virtue of a small fish to retard

Plin.  
xxxii. 1.

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der motionless a vessel agitated by the winds, waves and oars, has long ago been justly deemed fabulous.

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
31.

Octavius, gaining the sea, drew up his fleet opposite to that of Antony. His lieutenant-generals were M. Lurius on the right, L. Arruntius on the left, both under Agrippa, who commanded in chief, and upon whom the whole action entirely depended. The Consul Messala had also a command in this fleet, but it is not certain what it was. As to Octavius himself, surrounded by a number of little boats appointed to carry his orders, after the manner of aid-de-camps, his post, as well as that of Antony, was to inspect the whole.

The two land armies, simple spectators of the engagement, were drawn up upon the sides of the gulph; that of Antony commanded by Canidius, and that of Octavius by Statilius Taurus, encouraging the two fleets which were going to engage.

Although Antony offered battle, he had no intention to be the first who attacked. He had recommended to those who had the working of the vessels to wait for the enemy, without making the least motion, guarding themselves against the rocks and shallows in a narrow sea, and hard upon the shore; and the soldiers had orders to fight as if they were on firm ground, and to look upon their vessels as citadels, which they were to defend against a number of besiegers.

Octavius surveying the several divisions of his army, as soon as he was arrived at the right wing, observed with surprize the tranquillity of Antony's fleet, for at a distance it appeared as if it was riding at anchor. He did not judge it proper to advance to the enemy, lying so near the shore, where the nimbleness of his vessels and the skill of his seamen would have been but of little advantage, but contented himself with remaining in his station at the distance of a mile.

This inaction of the two fleets continued till noon, at which time a gale springing up, Antony's officers and



A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
31.

and soldiers, impatient at a delay which exasperated their courage, and trusting to the largeness and strength of their ships, made a motion with the left wing towards the enemy. Octavius was extremely well pleased at this, and to allow them more room to move farther from the shore, he ordered his right to fall back towards the ocean, in order that his vessels, which worked very well, might have sufficient room to attack advantageously the heavy ships of Antony, which both by their weight and being ill equipped, moved very slowly and with great difficulty.

Presently they approached each other and began the combat: but their manner of fighting did not at all resemble a naval engagement, such as was known and practised by the antients; for the prows of their vessels were a kind of offensive arms, being set thick with a kind of strong pikes of brass. They ran furiously against each other with their heads, or, which was still a better method, they directed them against the side of the enemy's vessel, in order to split it, and make it spring a leak so as to sink it. But here there was no shock of vessel against vessel; those of Antony were too heavy to be pushed with violence, upon which the force of the shock depended; and those of Octavius, being small and light, avoided the pikes of the enemy; but on the other hand, if they attempted to hurt the sides of these large heavy vessels, as the timber of them was hard, thick, and bound with cramps of iron, frequently the point of the pike which gave the blow was either bent or broke.

Thus they fought in the manner of a land-engagement, or, to speak more properly, like assaults on fortresses; for three or four of Octavius's vessels surrounded one of Antony's, and the combatants made use of pikes, bucklers, long poles shod with iron, and fire-pots. And on Antony's side, as the poops of their vessels had wooden towers raised on them, they made use of catapulta, or machines for throwing arrows.

While

While they fought thus on the right, Agrippa stretched out his left, in order to surround the enemy. Publicola, who was stationed against him, was obliged to do the same, and in spreading out his vessels, he was separated gradually from the centre, which began to be put in disorder. Hitherto the advantage was not determined to either side, when all of a sudden they perceived sixty of Cleopatra's vessels begin to fly, and disturb those who were fighting, having their sails set, and making the best of their way towards Peloponnesus. Without doubt fear had seized this princess, who had every thing prepared before, and as if she had come to the engagement only in order to fly, had taken care to put every thing valuable which she had on board.

There was nothing very surprizing in that behaviour of Cleopatra; but Antony's conduct on this occasion is quite inconceivable. It is not possible, says Plutarch, to discover in it either the General, or the man of courage and conduct. He seemed even to have lost the power of following his own inclinations, and verified what is commonly said of lovers, viz. that their soul dwells entirely in the person whom they love. In the same manner, as if he had been Cleopatra's shadow, and obliged to obey all her motions, he not sooner saw the vessel which she was on board run away, than, forgetting every thing, and betraying those who fought and actually died for him, he went into a galley having five rows of oars, accompanied only with two of his friends, Alexander of Syria, and a Roman named † Scellius, and followed her who had ruined both herself and him. Cleopatra observing him, caused the pavilion of her vessel to be hoisted

\* Εἶτα δὲ φανερὸν αὐτὴν Ἀντώνιον ἐπισκοπεῖν, ὅτι ἀρχόντις, ὅτι ἀνδρὸς, ὅτι ἑλὸς ἐξ ἑρμῆος, ληισμοῖς διακείμενον· ἀλλ' ὅπερ τις πείθει ὑπὲρ τὰν ψυχὴν τῶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ πνεύματι ζῆν, ἱλαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, ὥσπερ συμπεφύκατος καὶ συμμυταφαιόμενος. Οὐ γὰρ ἴσθι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἰδέαν γυναικὸς ἀποπλέουσας, καὶ πάντας ἱλαζόμενας, καὶ πειθεῖς καὶ ἀπαρτίζουσας τὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχομένους καὶ θινσκομένους, ὡς πυνυρὴν μεταμβάσας... ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν ἀπολλομένην ἦδη καὶ προπελίσσαν αὐτήν.

† This name is not known. The English editor by a probable enough conjecture substitutes for it Lucilius, who was mentioned before, and will be mentioned hereafter.

A. R. 721. up. He went on board of it without seeing her, or  
 Ant. C. being seen by her. She was on the poop, and he  
 31. went to the prow, where he remained alone, holding  
 his head between his hands.

Mean while the soldiers fought with a courage worthy of admiration. It is true, that at first there were only a few of them who observed it, but Octavius did not suffer them to be ignorant of it long, and went from vessel to vessel asking them for whom they fought so obstinately. Their attachment to their general, and the love of glory, was so strongly impressed in the hearts of those brave men, that they would not receive the quarters which were offered them, till at last the sea beginning to run very high, and to shatter their vessels, fatigued with resisting at once the enemy, winds, and waves, they submitted to the conqueror towards the tenth hour of the day. The number of the dead did not exceed five thousand; and the whole number of vessels which were taken amounted to three hundred.

There remained, however, unconquered Antony's land-army, which, by the number and valour of the troops which composed it, was still able to give Octavius a great deal of employment. Neither the officers nor soldiers of that army would believe for some time what was told them of Antony's flight. They could not conceive it possible that their general had abandoned nineteen legions of invincible infantry, and twelve thousand horse, as if he had not before a thousand times tried the vicissitude of fortune, and his valour had not been exercised and fortified by an infinite variety of good and bad success. They therefore imagined that Antony would appear again on a sudden, at a time when he was least expected. However, after some days, they were certainly persuaded of the truth of a fact which appeared so incredible, upon Antony's sending from Tænarus, where he had stopped, an order to Candius to bring his legions by way to Macedonia into Asia. They continued firm, therefore, in rejectin the solicitations of Octavius, who



who pressed them to surrender, and put themselves in march. At last Canidius himself having fled during the night, that unfortunate army, in want of every thing, and deserted by its chiefs, yielded to necessity, and went over to Octavius the seventh day after the battle.

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
37.

The conqueror Octavius passed the night on board, not having day-light sufficient to get on shore after the battle was ended. His first care was to send away Mæcenas with a Squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; but they had got the start of him greatly, so that Mæcenas speedily returned, and set out immediately for Rome, in order to take upon him the office of Prefect of the city and of all Italy.

Suet. Aug.  
17.  
Pedo. al-  
bi. nov. in  
Mæcen.  
obitum.

After Antony's legions had submitted to Octavius, there was nothing, one would imagine, to hinder him from pursuing with all possible diligence his vanquished enemy. In this he would have imitated the example of his great uncle, who, after the battle of Pharsalia, made a main point of pursuing Pompey very briskly, not allowing him time to recover himself. But Octavius was far from being so active in war as the dictator Cæsar. On the \* contrary, he esteemed nothing so much as circumspection. He had always in his mouth the Greek proverb, "make haste slowly," and frequently quoted a verse, the sense of which runs thus, "that a cautious general is preferable to a rash one." He was doubtless persuaded on this occasion that Antony was reduced to such a low pass, that a delay of some months could not give him an opportunity of recovering himself, and he began with taking care of objects that were nearer, and in themselves very important.

The first thing he did was to return thanks to Apollo, his tutelar God, who had always been wor-

Dio l.  
LI.

shipped on the promontory of Actium; and he consecrated to him the first fruits of his victory, that is,

\* Nihil minus in perfecto duce, quam festinationem temeritatemque, convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque ille iactabit.

Σπιῶνι Κανιδίῳ, &c, Ἀσφαλὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀμείνων, ἢ θρασὺς ἐπὶ νηλεῶς. Suet.

Aug 25.

a ves-

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
34.

a vessel of each kind, picked out of those which had been taken from Antony, from three rows of oars to ten.

He next turned his attention to the great number of troops with which he saw himself surrounded. He remembered into what danger he had been put by forty-five legions which were united in Sicily, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius, and the forced abdication of Lepidus. In a similar case he justly apprehended a similar effect, from that boldness with which soldiers are naturally inspired by the greatness of their number, and of their strength. He therefore judged it necessary, in the first place, to divide Antony's army. He gave leave to the old soldiers to depart, and incorporated the rest into his own legions. He would not even keep his own troops all together, but sent away, as quick as possible, the veterans into Italy, there to expect the rewards which had been promised, keeping none about him but such as had not finished their time of service.

He had reason to expect submission from these last. The hopes of a rich spoil which they promised themselves in Egypt, was a powerful motive to preserve their fidelity. But he was uneasy with regard to those whom he had sent into Italy, and who being eager for those rewards which they thought they had merited by their long services, and which he was not in a condition to pay them at that time, might be exasperated at the delay, and occasion some commotions. In this situation he thought it proper to give satisfaction to the people of Italy, who were oppressed with taxes, which the necessity of the war obliged him to exact, for fear there should still remain among them some seeds of discord, which might occasion and keep up a mutiny among his troops. He therefore ordered all the new taxes to be taken off; and the freed people in particular, who were a quarter in arrears, were excused from paying it. This remittance was received very gratefully, and gained him the affections of all the people.

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Another precaution which he took was to send Agrippa into Italy. Mæcenas was there already, and Octavius had great confidence in his capacity; but as his minister chose to remain in the order of knights, he had not that splendor of titles which imposes upon the multitude. Agrippa therefore, who was adorned with the greatest honours, was more likely to be respected.

A. R. 711.  
Ant. C.  
32.

Among other cares of Octavius after the victory, one of the principal had for its object the prayers of the vanquished, who ran to meet him in crowds imploring his mercy, earnest to know their fate. It may be said in general that he did honour to his good fortune, by the clemency with which he made use of it. Neither the kings nor their subjects, who had served in Antony's cause, experienced any cruelty from the conqueror. He contented himself with imposing fines and taxes on the people, and depriving those princes who had bore arms against him of their states; but he did not suffer any blood to be shed. Alexander alone, the accuser of his brother Jamblichus, and enriched by Antony with the spoils of unfortunate people, appeared unworthy of a pardon. Octavius kept him prisoner till his triumph, where he was led in chains, and afterwards beheaded.

With regard to the illustrious Romans, partizans of Antony, some of them were punished with death, and amongst the rest Curio, the son of the famous Curio, who was killed in fighting for Cæsar in Africa. But Octavius pardoned the greatest number of them. Cossius, who was a long time concealed by his faithful friend Arruntius, obtained a pardon at last by means of his intercession. M. Scaurus, a brother of Sextus Pompeius by the mother, was saved by the prayers of his mother Mucia. Furnius's pardon was granted at the solicitation of his son, of whom they report a very memorable expression on this occasion. \* "Cæ-

V. II. II.  
36.

\* Hanc unam, Cæsar, habeo injuriam tuam. Effecisti ut viverem, morerer ingratus. SEN. de Benef. II. 25.



A. R. 721.

Ant. C.

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“far, says he, this is the only cause you have ever given me to complain; you have reduced me to live and die ungrateful.” A fine example of filial piety, and at the same time a flattering compliment to Octavius. This young and merciful conqueror was pleased to see his clemency esteemed above his power.

He discovered upon another occasion how sensible he was of the force and merit of the prayers of a friend interceding for his father. While he was at Samos advancing towards Syria and Egypt, he held a council to examine the causes of the prisoners which had been engaged in Antony's party. Among the rest there was brought before him an old man named Metellus, oppressed with years and infirmity, disfigured with a long beard, and a neglected head of hair, but especially by his cloaths, which by his ill fortune were become very ragged. The son of this Metellus was one of the judges, and he had great difficulty in knowing his father in the deplorable condition in which he saw him. At last, however, having recollected his features, he ran to embrace him, crying very bitterly. Afterwards returning towards the tribunal, “Cæsar,” says he, “my father has been your enemy, and your officer. He deserves to be punished, and I to be rewarded. The favour I desire of you is either to save him on my account, or to order me to be put to death with him.” All the judges were touched with compassion at this. Octavius himself relented, and granted to old Metellus his life and liberty, though he had reason to look upon him as his implacable enemy, and one that bore very great malice towards him.

The adventure of Barbula, which, as well as the preceding, has been handed down to us by Appian, has something in it that is very extraordinary. Barbula was an old friend of Antony's, and one who had served him at the battle of Philippi, purchased after that battle one of the proscribed, who had disguised himself like a slave, in order to save his life. This pretended slave, whom the Greek author calls by the name of

Ma

# OCTAVIUS III. CORVINUS, Consuls.

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A. R. 721  
Ant. C.  
31.

Marcus, being employed by his master in different offices, acquitted himself with an address and probity which discovered his condition. Barbula wanted to draw the secret out of him, promising that if he was among the number of the proscribed, he would cause his name to be rased out of the fatal list. Marcus continued firm in concealing his story, and followed his master to Rome. There he was known by one of Barbula's friends; and his master, in pursuance of his promise, by means of the interest which he had with Agrippa, obtained Marcus's pardon, who in consequence attached himself to Octavius. Several years after this happened the battle of Actium, in which Marcus and Barbula were still on different sides, the former fighting for Octavius, and the latter for Antony. After the battle, the scene between them was renewed, but in a contrary sense. Barbula could not contrive a better method of saving his life, than by disguising himself like a slave. Marcus purchased him, pretending he did not know him, and employed the influence he had on Octavius to save, in his turn, the person who had been before his deliverer. Appian adds, as the last circumstance in which their fortunes resembled each other, that, some time after, they were companions in the Consulship, that is devoted Consuls, for their names are not found in the list of the ordinary ones.

All these instances of generosity and good-nature greatly augmented Octavius's glory. But we must not thence conclude, with Velleius, that the cruelties which he committed at the beginning of his Triumvirship, and after the battle of Philippi, were all forced, and that the blame of them ought not to fall upon him, but upon his colleagues. All the historical records bear witness, that he was more violently and obstinately inclined that way than either of the other two. His different conduct after the battle of Actium proceeded from the difference of the conjunctures. At the time of this last battle all the heads of the republican party were destroyed, and

Vell. II.  
66.

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
31.

he had reason to hope that the partizans of Antony who were accustomed to serve one master, would easily submit to the laws of another, who should better deserve their affection, which he principally studied.

Dio  
& Plut.  
Anton.

As soon as Octavius had regulated those affairs at Athens which demanded dispatch, he came by sea to Athens; and, far from male-treating Greece for having assisted his enemy, he relieved the misery of the people by distributing among them the provisions which remained after the war. They stood greatly in need of them, for the country had been pillaged in a terrible manner, by taking from them provisions, men, and cattle.

We may judge of the manner in which Greece in general had been harrassed, by the account which Plutarch gives of it, taken from his great uncle, with regard to the town of Chersonesus. He says that the inhabitants had been obliged to carry upon their shoulders a certain measure of grain as far as Anticyra on the gulf of Corinth, and were drove along with whips. They had performed this once, and were ready to set out the second time, when the news of Antony's defeat arrived. This was the saving of the unfortunate town. Antony's soldiers and superintendants fled, and the inhabitants shared the corn among themselves.

Dio.

From Athens Octavius passed into Asia, and prepared to advance, when he received advice that his veterans in Italy could not be kept in subjection, and that there were commotions among them which threatened a revolt. Agrippa sent couriers after couriers to him on this subject, pressing him to return, as his presence was absolutely necessary. It was then winter, and Octavius had taken possession of the Consulship for the fourth time, in which he chose for his colleague Marcus Crassus, son of the famous Crassus, and, if we may believe Dio, formerly attached to the party of Sextus Pompeius, and afterwards to that of Antony.

C. JULIUS



# OCTAVIUS IV. CRASSUS, Consul.

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C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS, IV.  
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

A. R. 723.  
Ant. C.  
30.

Octavius set sail notwithstanding the dangers of the seas during this stormy season. In his voyage he was twice overtaken by a storm, in which he lost several of his vessels. The one he was in himself was shattered, and her rudder broken to pieces. At last he arrived safe at Brundisium; where he was met by all the Senators, Knights, and Magistrates, excepting two Prætors, and two Tribunes of the people, who were ordered by a decree to remain in the city in order to keep it quiet. Rome had transported herself to Brundisium to acknowledge her master, the conqueror of so many enemies, remaining the last of such a number of competitors.

The mutineers were disconcerted by his arrival, and we may learn from an expression of \* Tacitus, that a single look of Octavius scattered terror among those regions, to whom he owed the victory of Actium. However, as their demands were reasonably founded, he partly complied with them, distributing money, and allotting lands to the oldest of the soldiers; but neither the circumstances of the times, nor the condition of his finances allowed him to discharge all that was due to them. In the mean time, to make them sensible of his good intentions, he exposed to sale all his effects, and also those of his principal friends. You may easily believe that no body had the boldness to purchase any thing, and this was what Octavius had trusted to. But by this specious conduct he shut the mouths of the murmurers, and reduced them to wait with patience, till he should be able to pay them all he had promised, which he afterwards did by means of the conquest of Egypt, and the treasure which he brought from thence.

These transactions took him up no more than thirty days, at the end of which he set out with all

\* Divus Augustus vultu & aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit.  
Tac. Ann. l. 42.

A. R. 722.  
Ant. C.  
39.

dispatch, in order to find his enemy, and put the last hand to his victory by finishing the destruction of Antony. Dio relates, that he wanted upon his return to avoid the Promontories of Peloponnesus, near which he had before been overtaken by a storm; and that in order to this, he made them transport the vessels over the Isthmus of Corinth. These vessels must certainly have been very light, if such an operation could be executed easily. But, however it be with regard to this particular circumstance, Octavius very soon got back to Asia, whence he advanced towards Egypt with his victorious troops.

Antony at that time was in Alexandria; but as he had not directed his flight directly thither; we must stop a little here, in order to give an account of his different movements.

## S E C T. II.

*Continuation of Antony's adventures in his flight. He stops at Paretonium. His deep melancholy. Cleopatra's arrival at Alexandria. She attempts to transport her fleet over the Isthmus of Suez into the Red-sea. Antony comes to her. Cleopatra's preparations to defend herself against the conqueror. Antony takes Timon the Misanthrope for his model. He relapses into his pleasures. Trials which Cleopatra made of poisons and serpents. She endeavours to make herself be beloved by Octavius who wants to impose upon her. Negotiations between them. Antony's suspicions of Cleopatra. She obliges him to shake them off. Antony's unfortunate expedition on the coast of Paretonium. The incredible zeal of a company of gladiators who fly to his defence. Herod presents himself before Octavius at Rhodes. His noble sentiments. He obtains his pardon. Alexas, who betrayed Antony, is put to death by Octavius. Octavius passing through Judea is magnificently entertained, and assisted by Herod. Pelusium delivered up to Octavius by the treachery of Cleopatra. She causes every thing*

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**S**OON after Antony was received on board Cleopatra's galley, he observed that he was pursued by some vessels detached from Octavius's fleet. Upon which he tacked about and presented the prow to his enemies, most part of whom left him. There was only one, who appeared much exasperated, shaking a pike which he had in his hand, ready to dart at him. "Who are you?" said the fugitive general to the captain of the vessel: "And why are you obstinate in pursuing Antony?" The captain answered, "I am Euricles the Lacedæmonian, who, assisted by Cæsar's good fortune, seek to revenge my father's death upon you." For Antony had condemned to death the father of Euricles, on account of plunders and robberies which he had committed. However, the Lacedæmonian turned about, and instead of attacking the vessel which Antony was in, he fell upon the other admiral galley; for Antony had two of them. He gave it a violent blow on the side with the beak of his vessel, which made it recoil, and presently took it, together with another vessel which was loaden with rich moveables, after which he left them. After this, Antony went again into the cabin, and putting himself into the same attitude out of which Euricles had roused him, he plunged himself anew into melancholy reflections.

In this manner he passed three whole days, during which, either through indignation, or shame, he neither saw nor spoke to Cleopatra. At last when they

were

were arrived at the Promontory of Tenarus, the queen's waiting-women, who were extremely well qualified for an office of this kind, reconciled them, and every thing went on as before.

There they were joined by a good number of store-ships, and by some of their friends who had escaped from the battle, who informed him that the fleet was entirely ruined, but they believed the land-army was still in a good condition. Antony then sent orders to Canidius, as I said above, to conduct his legions by Macedonia into Asia; but such an order could never supply the place of his presence, and we have seen before that it was not executed.

As to himself he prepared to go into Libya, and preserving in his misfortunes all his magnificence and generosity, he picked out a vessel laden with a great many things of value, both plate, vessels of gold, and also money, and gave it to his friends, desiring them to share his riches among them, and take care of themselves. They for some time refused with tears in their eyes, and wanted to follow him; but he comforted them with an admirable sweetness and good-nature, and joining entreaties to his advice, he sent them away to Theophilus, his steward, who was at Corinth, to whom he wrote to take care of them, and conceal them till they should be able to make their peace with Cæsar.

He afterwards set out with Cleopatra, and after their arrival at Paretonium, a town of Egypt, the frontier of Cyrenaicum, they separated from each other. The queen went to Alexandria, leaving Antony to that solitude which his bitter melancholy made him desire. There he enjoyed it at large, seeing no body, continually ruminating on his misfortunes, without any other company than Aristocrates, the Greek orator, and his incomparable friend Lucius, who was as faithful to him in his misfortunes, as he had formerly been to Brutus in the like circumstances.

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Antony's intention in remaining some time in the neighbourhood of Cyrenaicum, was not confined entirely to the indulging that melancholy which had got the mastery of him. In this country he had troops commanded by Pinarius Scarpus, and he attempted to assemble them about his person. But this officer changed his party with fortune. He declared himself for the conqueror, and having put to death the couriers which Antony sent to him, and also some soldiers who spoke loud in favour of their general, he delivered Cyrene, and the four legions which he had under his command, to Gallus, Octavius's friend and lieutenant. Antony was so provoked at this infidelity, that he wanted to kill himself; but his friends prevented it, and conducted him to Alexandria.

There he found Cleopatra employed in trying the last efforts, either to overcome or fly from her misfortunes. She imagined that she should be obliged to use a stratagem in order to get into her capital. Knowing the fickleness of the Alexandrians, and how little she deserved their esteem and affection, she suspected that if they were informed of her misfortune they would shut the gates against her; and for this reason she wanted to persuade them that she returned victorious. She caused therefore her vessels to be crowned with garlands, and the flutes and fifes to play airs of triumphs. At the head of this fleet was rowed her own galley, adorned with gildings and sails of purple. In this manner she entered without difficulty, and presently made the Alexandrians repent their having received her; for she put to death several of the principal lords of the court, who had long hated her, and after the news of the battle of Actium, had proclaimed their discontent without reserve. She confiscated the goods of those which she had put to death, plundered those whom she left alive, and even pillaged the temples, carrying off all the riches.

Her intention in those rapines was to amass treasure, in order to raise and keep up troops for her defence.



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fence; but she saw that the forces of Egypt were unable to resist those of the Roman empire united against them. Flight therefore seemed to offer a more certain refuge, and she formed a very singular and unheard of project, to convey her whole fleet over the Isthmus of Suez into the Red-sea, and thereby save herself in another world with all her treasures. Some of her vessels were actually transported thither; but the Arabians having burnt them, Antony, who arrived at that time, and believed that his land army was still faithful to him, persuaded Cleopatra to abandon her design, which was so full of difficulties, and endeavour to defend the avenues of Egypt by sea and land.

Cleopatra omitted nothing in her power, in order to put this advice in practice. She had a strong desire of escaping the danger she was in, and she did not despair of it. Thus she made all kinds of preparations for war, hoping at least that thereby she should certainly obtain better terms from Octavius. She also solicited foreign assistance, addressing herself to all the princes whom she expected would help her; and it was then to make up matters with the king of the Medes in particular, that she caused Artabazes king of Armenia, his enemy, to be put to death, and even sent him his head.

Mean while Antony, who was a constant prey to melancholy, chagrined at every object that he saw, having still a more melancholy prospect before him, and meeting with nothing but continual infidelity and desertions, one after another, of those who had testified the strongest attachment to him, quitted the town and all his friends, and shut himself up in a small solitary house, which he had caused to be built in haste upon a mole in the sea, near the island of Pharos. There he passed some time, shunning the commerce of mankind; giving out, that he took for his model Timon the Misanthrope; that being ill treated, like that Athenian, by the ingratitude and perfidy

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perfidy of his friends, he wanted, like him, to renounce all commerce with mankind.

But he soon grew weary of this way of living, little conformable to his character, and the same changes which had made him embrace it, made him also abandon it. Canidius arrived at Alexandria, to inform him in person of the revolt of the army which was under his command. He likewise received advice that Didius, whom he had made governor of Syria, had declared himself against him; that Herod, as we shall presently see more at large, had submitted to Octavius; and that all the other neighbouring kings and princes, to whom Cleopatra had sent to demand assistance, refused to join themselves to the side of the unfortunate party. Such disagreeable news, which one might naturally imagine would have quite sunk Antony, set him perfectly at ease; for in losing hope he lost disquiet, and was happy in some measure for his misfortunes being so desperate, seeing it was needless to look out for means to remedy it. Thus he quitted his melancholy retreat, returned to town, and plunged himself anew into pleasures, games, and diversions.

He took occasion for this from the entry of Cæsario and Antyllus, his eldest sons, to the age of Puberty. It was a custom among the antients, both Greeks and Romans, to celebrate by rejoicings this passing from infancy to an age where they began to be accounted a part of the Republic. Antony gave on account of Cæsario and Antyllus, who were then between sixteen and seventeen years of age, feasts to the Alexandrians, and there was nothing but entertainments, balls and concerts, for several days, all over the city. He thought to strengthen his interest, by shewing two successors, who were already in a condition to supply his place and revenge him; but this precaution was of no use to him, and proved fatal to the two youths, who would have found more security under the robe of infancy.

I have

I have mentioned elsewhere, a society established by Antony and Cleopatra at the beginning of their acquaintance, under the title of "The Inimitable Life." At the time I now speak of they abolished this first society, and formed a new one, which they called, "An Engagement to die together." Their friends subscribed their names upon a scroll, as if they were resolved to die with them, and they prepared themselves for death by all the amusements capable of banishing it from their thoughts, by pleasures, extravagant expences, and excessive intemperance.

In the midst of all these diversions, Cleopatra seriously employed herself to find means of procuring a death equally quick and pleasant, in case she should at last be reduced to that extremity. She made experiments of all kinds of poisons upon criminals; but she observed that those which killed suddenly caused violent pains, and those which were more gentle in their effect operated but slowly. She then had recourse to serpents, presiding always in person at these experiments, observing very curiously their phenomena and effects. Plutarch assures us that the asp was the only one that she found, whose sting caused such a death as she wanted, without convulsions, or plaintive moanings. A gentle moisture bedewed the face, the senses became obliterated, and an excessive heaviness oppressed the whole body, which could hardly endure to be stirred or shaken, like those who are buried in a very sound sleep. She contented herself with this; but as her last resource, which she intended only to apply to when all others failed her.

She had never had a true and sincere love for Antony, and we may very well imagine that she would hardly begin to love him now, when he was become so unfortunate; and if she could have fallen upon any method of saving herself without him, or even at his expence, there is no question but she would have done it with joy. Her plan was to try to make Octavius fall in love with her; for although she was older than he, her charms were not decayed. She was  
not



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not yet arrived at the age of forty, and with the address she had acquired in the art of pleasing, after having captivated the son of Pompey, the great Cæsar, and Antony, she flattered herself with adding to so many conquests, that of her young vanquisher.

But she attacked a man who was constantly upon his guard, very artful, and one whose passion never made him commit a fault contrary to his interest. He diverted himself with Cleopatra's artifices, laying snares for her in his turn, and designed if possible to get rid of Antony by her means, and afterwards make himself master of her kingdom, treasures, and person. We ought never to lose sight of this double scheme of Octavius and Cleopatra, and of their whole conduct with regard to one another.

Thus in three embassies which were sent one after another, to Octavius in Asia, by Antony and Cleopatra conjointly, the queen had always her secret agents, charged with particular proposals in her name. Antony desired no more than that his life might be saved, and to have the liberty of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity, and in a private manner at Athens, provided the conqueror would not consent to let him remain in Egypt. Cleopatra demanded publickly for her children, their father's kingdom to be confirmed to them; but privately she caused to be delivered to Octavius her scepter, crown, and royal throne, as though she gave up her pretensions to royalty entirely to him. Octavius returned no answer to Antony. With regard to Cleopatra, he threatened in publick to grant her no quarter, unless she laid down her arms and renounced her throne; but in private he gave her hopes of the best of treatment, provided she sent away Antony, or put him to death.

Such was the constant conduct of Octavius. Always inexorable towards Antony, he tried to allure Cleopatra with hopes. He accepted of every thing which his enemy sent. Antony in order to soften him sent him gold, and the Senator Turulius, one of those who had conspired against Cæsar, under a strong guard.

guard. Octavius accepted the gold, and put Turullius to death. But he abated nothing of his rigour against Antony, and gave only ambiguous answers, which were not at all binding. Cleopatra too on her part imposed upon Antony, and did all in her power to deceive Octavius. Antony alone acted with sincerity, and went so far as to offer to kill himself, provided the queen might be spared, at the same time that that princess was hearkening to propositions for betraying him, and even of putting him to death.

When I say that Antony acted with sincerity, I mean only with regard to Cleopatra; for as to his conduct to Octavius, it was full of treachery, if it be true what Dio reports, that the ambassadors whom he sent to negotiate with him, carried large sums destined to debauch his troops, or even to bribe villains to assassinate him.

Cleopatra's intelligence with Octavius appeared by the good reception which she gave to Thyrsus, a freedman of that general, who was sent by him to the queen, in order to persuade her that she was beloved by her vanquisher. Cleopatra, who wished for nothing so much, listened attentively to this discourse, and had long and familiar interviews with Thyrsus. So that Antony, though not at all naturally suspicious, was at last uneasy at it. He laid hold on Thyrsus, and after causing him to be whipped with rods, sent him back to his patron. He sent excuses, however, to Octavius for his behaviour, and wrote to him, that being disposed through his misfortunes to be easily exasperated, he could not suffer the insolence of a freedman, who affected to affront him; "But," added he, "if you are offended, you have it in your power to avenge yourself. I deliver Hipparchus to you, whom you may treat in the same manner as I have treated Thyrsus." The revenge in this case would have been very singular, and entirely in favour of Antony; for Hipparchus had deserted his party and gone over to the fortunate side.

Cleo-

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Cleopatra was alarmed at Antony's suspicions, and being so much the more capable of counterfeiting outward appearances, as she felt nothing within, she spared neither careffes, nor testimonies of deference and submission, in order to regain them. Her birthday and that of Antony's happened to be near one another, and they fell out about the time I am now speaking of. She allowed her's to be passed over without being observed, agreeable to their unfortunate situation at that time; but on the contrary, she celebrated that of Antony with such extraordinary magnificence and extravagant profusion, that a great number who came thither in a poor condition, were enriched for ever after.

Mean while the operations of the war were continued, although rather slowly. Gallus with the legions which Pinarius Scarpus had delivered up to him, took possession of Paretonium, which was the key of Egypt on the West side, as Pelusium was on the East. Antony, who had still considerable forces both by sea and land, wanted to take that important place from the enemy. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himself, that as soon as he should show himself to Gallus's legions, who had formerly served under him, their affection for their antient general would be renewed. He approached therefore, and exhorted them to return to their first oath; but Gallus ordered all the trumpets to sound, in order to hinder Antony from being heard. He even sallied out upon him, and gained a small advantage over him.

Antony's fleet suffered likewise a great misfortune. It had entered the port of Paretonium, which Gallus left open on purpose, but had stretched chains below the water, which by help of certain machines were raised up immediately after the vessels were gone in, and so blocked up the mouth of the harbour. Thus the fleet being caught as it were in a net, was presently attacked on all sides, both from the sea, the shore, and the town itself. Antony lost a great many vessels in this unequal engagement, some being

sunk,



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sunk, and others burnt, so that he saved but a very few.

This unfortunate expedition hindered Antony from reaping advantage of the assistance which was offered him by men of a mean station, but whose zeal and fidelity deserves no less to be commended. When he was abandoned by all the people of rank which used to be about him, so that for want of a person of distinction to confide in with regard to his embassies to Octavius, he was obliged to send Euphronius, his children's tutor, a company of gladiators, whom he caused to be exercised and equipped at Cyzicum, with view to the games with which he proposed to celebrate his victory, shewed an incredible courage to fly to his defence. These gladiators marched over all Asia, in spite of the obstacles they met with from those princes and kings who had deserted Antony's party. After they were arrived in Syria, Didius, another deserter of the same cause, stopped their passage, but was not able to overcome them. They informed Antony of their situation and strong desire to serve him, intreating him to come and put himself at their head. But Antony preferred marching towards Tretonium, where he succeeded in the manner I have already related. Mean while the gladiators having received no answer from him, came at last to an agreement with Didius, upon condition that they should not be obliged to fight any more in the amphitheatre, but remain in the suburb of Antioch called Daphne, till Octavius should be informed of all that had passed, and give orders concerning them. They were afterwards separated, and given to understand that they were to be incorporated into different legions; but all the intention was to disperse and destroy them. This generous behaviour, far above their station, certainly deserved a better recompence. It appears to me that Octavius, I do not know for what reason, was in a great hurry to give the last answer to Antony. The historical records which we have of those times, give us insight into the motives

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of

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of these delays. But to pass over that, during his stay at Rhodes, he received an illustrious deserter, who by the freedom and dignity of his deportment, appears evidently worthy of being distinguished from the rest.

Jos. Ant.  
XV. 10.  
& de Bel.  
Jud. 1. 15.

Herod, having received a great many favours from Antony, attached himself to him out of gratitude; but when he saw him obstinate in his own destruction, he did not think he was obliged to ruin himself with him. He waited on the conqueror in the manner of a suppliant, without his diadem, but very well supporting his dignity by his greatness of soul. Josephus puts the following speech into his mouth. "Caesar says he, "it was Antony who made me king of the Jews, and I own that I have employed that fortune which I owe to him in his service. I am not afraid to own to you, that if the war against the Arabians had not hindered me, you should have seen me fighting in person against you. However, I assisted him both with troops and provisions to the utmost of my power. Since the misfortune which happened to him at Actium, I have not deserted my benefactor; and when I could be no longer an useful ally to him, I performed the office of a faithful counsellor. I have represented to him, that the only method which remained for him to recover his fall, was to put Cleopatra to death, and on this condition I offered him my riches, strong places, troops and person, to assist in supporting the war against you. But the charms of Cleopatra have made Antony deaf to all my counsels, and God, who has been pleased to give you victory, has hindered him from hearkening to his salutary advice. I am therefore vanquished with my benefactor Antony, and my throne is overturned together with his fortune. I present myself now before you, without placing my hopes of safety in any thing but my virtue. I expect, however, that you will consider what a friend I am, and not whom I have served."

This bold and noble speech charmed Octavius A. R. 712.  
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30. very much. He made Herod take back his diadem, confirmed him in the possession of his kingdom, and promised him his friendship.

Herod having obtained pardon for himself, thought Plut. he had likewise some grounds to demand it for another. Alexas, or Alexander, of Laodicea in Syria, had been in a very considerable station at the court of Antony and Cleopatra, and none of the Grecians of his time were more powerful than he. But he had not arrived at this power by honourable methods. He was Cleopatra's chief minister and tool, whom she made use of to captivate and subdue Antony, and to overturn every favourable opinion with regard to Octavius which reason suggested to him. Antony, who put great confidence in his parts and zeal, sent him from Alexandria to Herod, to endeavour to keep that prince attached to his party. But it is in vain for great men to promise themselves fidelity from the ministers of their pleasures. Alexas betrayed Antony, and remained with Herod. He had even the assurance to present himself before Octavius, under the protection of the king of the Jews. But he was deceived in his hopes, for his offences were of such a nature as not to admit of a pardon. Octavius caused him to be put in chains, and to be transported to the town of Laodicea, his native country, that he might there suffer death in the sight of all his fellow-citizens. Thus Antony in his life-time was revenged of this traitor.

Herod returned with all speed to his kingdom, to Joseph, put himself in a condition to receive Octavius; who was to march through his territories in his way towards Egypt. He received him very magnificently at Ptolemaidum, and gave a splendid entertainment to him and all his friends, to the number of one hundred and fifty, distributing wine and provisions to all his soldiers. He, besides, made a present to Octavius of eight hundred talents; and as upon the confines of Egypt there was a sandy desert, he sent thi-



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ther great quantities of water for the use of the army. Herod, by this conduct, gave the Romans a very favourable opinion of him, and he appeared to have a soul greater than his kingdom.

Octavius continuing his march, arrived before Ptolemais. This place, which was very strong by its situation, and besides was well garrisoned, might have stopped him a long while; but Seleucus, who was governor, had not the courage to defend it, or rather he had secret orders from Cleopatra to give it up. For that princess having lost all hopes of safety from Antony, and flattering herself with being beloved by Octavius, wanted to make a merit to the conqueror of her treachery towards him whose misfortunes she had occasioned. This event made Antony conceive suspicions of treachery, notwithstanding all his blindness. But Cleopatra soon dissipated these, by delivering up the wife and children of Seleucus to his vengeance.

At the same time she caused them to carry to a magnificent tomb which she had ordered to be erected and in which there were a great many niches and little vaults, every thing which was valuable in her palace, as gold, silver, precious stones, ebony, ivory and cinnamon, laying over them a great quantity of dry wood, torches, and other combustibles; and she declared openly, that in case she was pushed to it, she would destroy all those riches by setting them on fire. She was not ignorant that Octavius had a strong desire of becoming master of them, and she was very glad to have two chances with him, so that in case love did not engage him to use her well, at least the fear of losing so great a treasure might force him to do so. In effect, Octavius was touched with this menace, and, lest despair should make the queen put it in execution, he always took care to keep up her hopes by means of secret emissaries which he employed about her.

Mean while Octavius advanced towards the city of Alexandria, and encamped near the Hippodrom, and

circu

circus set apart for horse-races. After his arrival, Antony made a sally upon him, and fought very valiantly, and having put to flight the enemy's cavalry, he pursued them as far as Octavius's camp. As he was naturally vain, he made a trophy of this victory, and upon his return to town he went directly to the palace, embraced Cleopatra with his armour upon him, and presented to her one who had distinguished himself by his bravery above all the rest. Cleopatra rewarded him very magnificently, and made him a present of a head-piece and breast-plate of gold; but the crafty foldier, instead of shewing his gratitude, wanted only to secure the rich gift he had received; for the next night he deserted, and went over to the enemy's camp.

Antony was mortified at it, and out of a kind of revenge he himself invited his enemy's soldiers to desert, and caused billets to be scattered among them, promising fifteen hundred drachmas to every one who would come and list in his service. Octavius had so little apprehensions of any bad effect from these solicitations, that he assembled his army, and read one of the billets before them; from which the soldiers conceived fresh indignation against Antony, and a stronger attachment to their general Octavius.

He renewed once more, at this last extremity, the same challenge he had before sent to Octavius, of terminating the war by a single combat. The risk would have been too unequal between the two champions; and although Octavius's character had not set him above these boasting rhodomontades, he had no business to hazard his flourishing fortune against the ruined condition of his adversary. He answered boldly, that if Antony sought for death, there were enough of other methods left to procure it.

He sought for it in earnest, and believing that he could not procure it more gloriously than in battle, he resolved to fight both by sea and land at the same time. The evening before the day appointed for this desperate stroke, he ordered a grand entertainment to

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be prepared for him. "Give me good wine, good cheer," says he, "and plenty of it. I do not know but to-day may be the last time you will serve me; perhaps to-morrow you may be under another master, and I shall be no more than a carcass, and a vain phantom." These sentiments were very suitable to the life which he had led, but his humane concern for his friends, which still remained, deserves to be commended. He declared that he would not take them to an engagement, where he had a much greater prospect of death than of victory.

Plutarch relates, that the night following, when the whole town was in the greatest consternation, and a melancholy silence, which was the consequence of it, reigned every where, they heard in the streets and squares the noise of voices and instruments, singing, dancing, and other tumultuous motions, like a company of bacchanalians; and that this noise, having passed through the whole town, seemed to go out at the gate which looked towards the enemy. The same author who relates this prodigy, whether true or false, gives also the interpretation of it. Antony had always taken Bacchus for his model and original, and had even declared himself the new Bacchus. One may imagine then, says Plutarch, that this God, upon leaving him, gave him notice of his approaching disaster, and abandoned him to his bad fortune.

At day-break, on the morning of the first of August, Antony drew up his land-forces on the hills near the entry into the town, and from thence he viewed his fleet, which advanced in good order towards that of the enemy. He waited himself to be a spectator of the combat, but was greatly surprized and exasperated to see his vessels salute those of Octavius, which returned it; and immediately the two fleets joining united, and went back into the harbour. At the very same time his cavalry deserted him. He tried, however, an engagement with the infantry; and having been vanquished, he returned into the

town,



town, crying aloud that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by that ungrateful princess to those whom he had made his enemies entirely on her account.

He said very true; for it was by secret orders from Cleopatra that the fleet had passed over to the enemy. She was therefore afraid of Antony's just resentment, especially during the time of his wrath and despair. She therefore concealed herself in her tomb, and shut the gates of it, which were defended with rails, bolts, and iron bars, and from thence she sent to inform Antony that she was dead. According to Dio, this last message was still a more atrocious perfidy than all she had done before. For, in order to rid Octavius of his rival, she drove Antony to the extremity of killing himself, knowing very well that he loved her to such excess, that it was not possible for him to survive her.

Whether this reflection of Dio's be just, or only a conjecture formed after the event, it is certain that Antony gave credit to the news of Cleopatra's death, and immediately took the resolution of killing himself. "Why do you delay, Antony," (said he to himself) "seeing fortune has deprived you of the only pretence you had left of still loving life." He retired immediately into his chamber, and untying his breast-plate, still full of his former passion, he thus expressed himself, "Oh, Cleopatra, it is not being deprived of you that afflicts me, for I am going to meet you again very shortly; but it is shameful for so great and so powerful a general to see himself convinced that he has less courage than a woman." A long time before, he had obliged one of his most faithful slaves, named Eros, to promise to kill him whenever fortune should drive him to this last resource. He then called upon him to execute his promise. The slave brandished the sword as if he was going to stab his master; but turning about his face, he plunged it into his own bosom. "I commend thee, Eros," cried Antony, seeing him fall at his feet; "instead of

A. R. 722. " doing that office which your regard for me would  
 Ant. C. " not permit you to perform, you shew me the ex-  
 30. " ample." He then drew his sword, and plunging it  
 into his belly, he threw himself upon a little couch.  
 The wound which he gave himself was not immedi-  
 ately mortal; and the blood having stopped after he  
 had lain some time upon his back, he recovered his  
 spirits, and earnestly conjured those who were come  
 into the room to put an end to his life; but they al-  
 fled, being seized with fright and horror.

While he cried out, and tossed his body violently,  
 one of the queen's secretaries, named Diomedes, came  
 from her to propose that Antony might be trans-  
 ported to her in her tomb. By this means he under-  
 stood that she was still alive, and far from entertain-  
 ing any resentment against her, he earnestly desired  
 them to take him in their arms, and carry him to the  
 place where the queen was. The difficulty consisted  
 in getting him in; for Cleopatra would not allow, at  
 any rate, the gates to be opened. She appeared at a  
 window, and threw down cords, with which she  
 fixed Antony, and as she pulled him up, assisted by  
 two of her women, who were the only persons she  
 took with her to attend her, there never was a more  
 moving spectacle, or one more capable of raising com-  
 passion than this. \* Antony all covered with blood  
 and in the agonies of an approaching death, was sus-  
 pended in the air, stretching his hands towards Cleo-  
 patra, frequently wavering, and in danger of falling  
 down again; while a number of spectators, anxious  
 and trembling, encouraged Cleopatra, who used all  
 the force she could with her arms, and made efforts  
 which strained every feature of her face. At last, by  
 the assistance of her two women, she hoisted him up  
 to the window, and taking him in her arms, she car-  
 ried him to her bed.

\* I do not know if this picture, which is drawn by Plutarch, has  
 been executed by any great painter; but I cannot conceive a finer  
 subject.

A. R. 721.  
Ant. C.  
30.

Then she gave herself up [to the most violent grief. She tore her cloaths, beat her breast, kissed the wound which he had made, and rubbed off with her face the blood in which he was bathed, calling him at the same time her master, her husband, her emperor, and appearing to have forgot entirely her own misfortunes, through a violent sense of those of Antony. He comforted her, and intreating her to put an end to her tears and transports of grief, he asked for some wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he hoped thereby to hasten his death, which he looked upon as the moment of his deliverance. After he had drunk, he intreated Cleopatra to endeavour to preserve her life, if she could do it with honour. And he mentioned to her Proculeius, as the person amongst all Cæsar's friends in whom she might put the greatest confidence. "With regard to me," added he, "do not lament my present misfortunes, but congratulate me upon the happiness which I have enjoyed. I have lived the greatest and the most powerful of men, and though I fall to-day, my fate is not ignominious; a Roman myself, I am overcome by a Roman."

He was hardly expired, when Proculeius, who was sent by Octavius, arrived; for while they transported Antony from the chamber where he had wounded himself to Cleopatra's tomb, one of his guards, named Derceteus, stole his sword, and getting away undiscovered, he ran to carry the first news of Antony's death to Octavius, shewing as a proof of the sword tinged with blood. Octavius shed tears on hearing he was dead; but I am afraid they were still less sincere than those of Cæsar after the death of Pompey. He affected to bewail the melancholy fate of a brother-in-law, and of a colleague with whom he had been connected in the management of so many great and important affairs. In order to justify himself, and wipe off all reproach, he gathered his friends together, and read to them the letters which he had wrote to Antony, and also those which he had received from



A. R. 722.  
Ant. C.  
30.

from him, desiring them to observe how reasonable his proposals had always been, whereas Antony's answers were full of pride and haughtiness. After this farce was ended, and he had taken care to clear his reputation on this occasion, he dispatched Proculeius to Cleopatra, ordering him to try by all means to get her into his power. For he was afraid of losing the treasures which she had conveyed to her tomb; and besides, he was very fond of leading her in triumph.

Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculeius, except through the gate, which was very well secured. But it was not possible for them to come to an agreement. Cleopatra demanded the crown of Egypt for her children, and Proculeius advised her to trust to Octavius's discretion. In the mean time he took particular notice of every thing about the place, and Gallus being returned from Octavius to demand a second conference with Cleopatra, while they were together at the gate, the one on the inside, and the other without, and Gallus spun out the conversation on purpose. Proculeius caused a ladder to be placed against the wall, and, followed by two soldiers, he entered in the window by which Antony had been conveyed. As soon as he was entered he ran to the gate; and one of Cleopatra's women crying out, "O unfortunate princess, you are taken alive!" she turned about and observing Proculeius, attempted to stab herself with a poniard which hung at her girdle; but Proculeius running hastily to her, and laying hold of her arms, "You are unjust, said he, Cleopatra, both to yourself and Octavius. You would deprive him of the opportunity of shewing his clemency, and make the most gentle of all conquerors pass for an implacable enemy, and one who is not worthy to be trusted." Saying this, he forced the poniard away from her, and examined her cloaths to see that she had no poison concealed about her. Octavius being informed that Cleopatra was taken, sent Epaphroditus

phroditus to bring her to his palace, and to watch her very carefully, without losing sight of her a moment, for fear she should kill herself. He was likewise ordered to use her well in every respect, to shew her the greatest deference, and do every thing in his power to render her captivity agreeable.

Antony being dead, and Cleopatra a prisoner, Octavius made his entry into Alexandria. He took care to mitigate the terror which the inhabitants of that great city were in, by the caresses and singular marks of affection with which he honoured one of their fellow-citizens; for he made his entry hand-in-hand, and conversing familiarly with the philosopher Areus, who was of Alexandria. The great respect which Octavius shewed to this philosopher is a thing worthy to be observed, and does great honour to learning. All the Alexandrians trembled, and when the conqueror was come into the Gymnasium, and placed himself upon the tribunal, which was there erected, they prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground, like criminals who waited to hear their sentence pronounced. Octavius presently ordered them to rise, telling them that three motives determined him to pardon them, viz. the respect he had for the memory of Alexander, their founder; the admiration which the beauty of their town occasioned in him; and the friendship which he had for their fellow-citizen, Areus.

Although Octavius having now no more a rival, and becoming incontestably master of the Roman empire, shewed, on most occasions, a clemency suitable to his high fortune, yet he did not leave off exercising such rigours as he thought necessary for his security. Thus Antyllus, the eldest of Antony's sons, being delivered up to him by Theodorus his preceptor, was condemned to death. Even the statue of Julius Caesar, which he clasped in his arms, could not save him; for they pulled him away from it, in order to execute him. The wretched tutor, who had betrayed him whose life he ought to have preserved at the expence

A. R. 722  
Ant. C.  
30.

pence of his own, soon brought upon himself, by fresh crime, the punishment due to so great a perfidy. For while the soldiers were employed in beheading Antyllus, Theodorus stole from him a valuable jewel which hung at his neck. A search was made for it and the thief denied it; but he was presently convicted of the fact, and crucified.

Cæsario saved himself by flight; for his mother having given him great riches, sent him to the Indies by way of Ethiopia. But his preceptor, whose name was Rhodon, being as perfidious as Theodorus, prevailed upon him to return, persuading him that Octavius would make him king of Egypt. The too credulous pupil followed his advice; but upon his arrival at Alexandria he was taken into custody. Octavius spared his life till Cleopatra's death, after which, as he deliberated what was best to be done with Cæsario, Areus determined him to put him to death alluding to part of a verse in Homer, the sense of which runs thus, viz. \* "A number of sovereigns is not good;" which he altered in this manner, "A number of Cæsars is not good for you." There was no occasion to press Octavius strongly to make away with a person who had disputed with him the quality of Cæsar's son; he therefore caused him to be put to death.

As to the rest of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleness; they were left to those who were intrusted with their education, and had orders to take care that they should be provided in every thing suitable to their birth.

Octavius was extremely complaisant to Cleopatra whom he was afraid of driving to despair, because he wanted, as I said before, to make her the principal ornament of his triumph. Several kings and generals desired Antony's body, in order to pay the last honours to it. But this consolation he reserved for

\* Homer says (Il. II. 204) Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκρανίη. which Areus turned in this manner to Octavius, Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαιρανίη.



Cleopatra. She buried him with her own hands, and she was furnished with every thing that she desired, in order to render the funeral of so illustrious a man, and one whom she so tenderly loved, magnificent.

It is impossible but such cruel mortifications must have a bad effect upon Cleopatra's health, to add to which the contusions she had given herself upon her breast, having brought on an inflammation, she was seized with a fever. She was greatly pleased with it, and laid hold of this opportunity to starve herself to death, under pretence of a regimen necessary for her disorder. Her physician in ordinary, named Olympus, was in the secret, and from him Plutarch quoted the history of these events, in which he himself had acted a part. Octavius discovered Cleopatra's intention, and made them threaten her with regard to her children. That was a battery against which her maternal tenderness could not resist; and Cleopatra, for fear of being the cause of their death, allowed herself to be treated as they pleased, and recovered.

After she was recovered, Octavius came to visit her. She was lying upon a couch in a very careless manner. As soon as he entered, she raised herself hastily, having nothing on but a loose robe, and prostrated herself before him. Her misfortunes had soured the air of her countenance, and given her a kind of haggard look; her hair was dishevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes cast down; on her bosom appeared the marks of the blows she had given herself, and, in a word, her whole outward appearance discovered evidently the deplorable condition of her mind. Mean while her natural beauty, and the noble sprightliness of her looks, were not entirely extinguished, and through all these disadvantageous external appearances there might still be discovered alluring charms, which shone in all her motions. Octavius desired her to place herself on her couch, and sat down beside her.

Cleopatra had prepared herself for this interview, and made use of every method she could think of to sound

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found Octavius. She tried apologies, intreaties, and allurements to touch his heart. She began with tempting to justify herself, and to throw the cause of the war entirely upon Antony, whom she was forced to obey: But Octavius refuting all those excuses, and convincing her that she was wrong in every article she found that that fort was not tenable. She then submitted to implore his clemency. Afterwards changing her tone, and likewise the subject, she turned her conversation on the dictator Cæsar. She shewed him several portraits of his great uncle, which she had hung up in her chamber, and read to him letters full of tenderness, which she had received from him and preserved on purpose till that time, frequently interrupting the discourse with lamentable complaints and reflections on herself. "Of what service," cried she, have those letters been to me, which that great man honoured me with? Why could not I die with him?" Afterwards she recovered herself, and addressing Octavius, "Oh, said she, I find him again in you, he revives for me in your person." Octavius was no stranger to this language, but he remained firm against all those attacks, answering always with a cold indifference, so that Cleopatra was obliged to return to affairs of business.

She presented to him an inventory of her treasure and jewels, which gave occasion to a very singular scene. For Seleucus, one of her stewards, having alledged that the inventory was not just, and that she had secreted certain jewels which he mentioned, she fell into a violent passion, started from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him several blows on the face. Octavius laughed at this sally, and desired her to desist. "What, Sir, said she, whilst you do me the honour of visiting me in this melancholy situation, is it not provoking that one of my slaves should dare to affront me in your presence? And even supposing it was true, it could never be for myself that I should keep those ornaments, which are now no more agreeable to my fortune; or could I be

A. R. 722  
Ant. C.  
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She kept a correspondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth, and attached to Octavius, but who, either out of compassion, or perhaps a much stronger motive, interested himself in the misfortunes of that princess. He informed her privately, according to their agreement, that Octavius was preparing to return by land, taking the route of Syria; that as for her, it was resolved she should be sent off in three days, together with her children.

Upon this information she demanded leave of Octavius to offer libations on Antony's tomb; which having been granted, she came with those women which usually attended her, and throwing herself on the coffin, \* " O my dear Antony, said she, a few " days ago I should have buried you with hands that " were still free; but now I offer you libations, a " captive, a prisoner, and carefully watched, left by " the violence of my grief I should disfigure this " wretched body, this body that is enslaved, and " which they carefully guard for the fatal pomp of

Ἡ οὖν ἀν' αὐτῶν, βασιλεὺς μὲν ἐν πρώτῃ τῇ χειρὶ ἀναβήσας, σπένδα δὲ τὸν  
ὠκεανόν· ἔτα, καὶ φερμένῳ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ μὲν θύοντος αἰκισσάσθαι τὸ δόλῳ  
τὸν σῶμα, καὶ φερμένῳ ἰπὶ τὰς καλὰς τοῦ θύοντος. ἄλλος δὲ μὴ σπένδοντα  
καὶ δὲ χροῖς, ἀλλ' αὐταῖσιν τελευτᾶται, Κλυπεύτρης ἀγορεύον. ῥήσας μὲν γὰρ  
αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ἀλλαντὸν δέσσειν, ἀποφύζοντα δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ διαμεινέσθαι τὸς τόπους  
ἐν αὐτῇ Ρωμαίων ἐπὶ τὰ αἰώνια, ἔτα δ' ἐν δόρυς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ποσὶ τοῦ οὗτος  
μυριάδας χροῖς μένει. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν τῇ κατὰ δυνάμει αὐτῇ, δύναμις οὐ γὰρ  
ἰταλὶα πόσῳ αὐτῶν, μὴ σπῆν ζῶσαν τῇ σπασθῇ γυνάικῃ κατὰ ἐν ἡμῶν  
αὐτῶν. θάνατος οὖν σπασθῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μετὰ τὴν σπασθῇ, καὶ σπῆν  
αὐτῶν. αἰς ἡμῶν μετὰ κακῶν ἔσται ἡμῶν μετὰ κακῶν ἔσται ἡμῶν μετὰ κακῶν ἔσται  
ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ χωρὶς ἔσται.

“ a tri-



A. R. 722. " a triumph over you. Expect no more offerings,  
 Ant. C. " oblations; these are the last which you are to re-  
 30. " ceive, your Cleopatra is going to be forced away  
 " from you. Nothing could separate us while both  
 " alive; but we are in danger of being strangely re-  
 " moved from each other by death, and of exchange-  
 " ing with one another the natural places of our  
 " tombs; seeing you, who are a Roman, have found  
 " your tomb here, and unfortunate Cleopatra must  
 " go in search of her's in Italy, the only good which  
 " your country has ever procured her. But if the  
 " Gods of the place which you now inhabit have any  
 " force or power, (for those here have betrayed us)  
 " do not abandon your spouse while she continues to  
 " live, nor suffer them to triumph over you in my  
 " person. Conceal me here with you; shut me up  
 " in your sepulchre; for amidst the infinite misfor-  
 " tunes which I endure, none has been more painful  
 " and grievous to me than the short space of time I  
 " have lived without you."

After these moving complaints, Cleopatra strewed the coffin with flowers, and having kissed it a thousand times, she returned home and bathed herself. As soon as she had bathed, she ordered a great dinner to be made, during the time of which a peasant brought to her a covered basket. The guards having asked him what it was, he opened it, and taking out the leaves on the top, he shewed them some figs. They admired the beauty and largeness of them, and the peasant, with a very natural air, desired them to take some of them. As they did not suspect that he carried any thing else, they suffered him to pass.

As soon as Cleopatra had finished her dinner, she gave to Epaphroditus a letter sealed to deliver to Cæsar, and having caused every body to retire, except her two women, her faithful companions, she ordered them to shut the doors of her apartment. Octavius upon opening the letter, found in it nothing but lamentable intreaties, Cleopatra requesting, as the greatest favour, to be buried beside Anthony. He easily

appro-

A. R. 713.

Ant. C.

32.

perprehended what this signified, and had thoughts at first of going to her himself; but he judged it more proper to send some of those who were with him to examine what had passed. This was accordingly done; they ran as fast as they could, and found the guards quiet at their posts, not in the least suspecting that any accident had happened; but upon entering the chamber, they saw Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded bed, arrayed in her royal robes. Of the two women who waited upon her, one, named Iris, lay dead at her mistress's feet, and the other, whose name was Charmio, already staggering, and hardly able to support herself, was putting the diadem on Cleopatra's head. One of those who came in, saying in a passion, "This is finely done, Charmio!" "Yes, very finely indeed," answered she, and worthy a princess descended from so many kings." On pronouncing these words, she fell down and expired.

As the death of Cleopatra had been so very sudden, Octavius fancied at first that there might still remain in her some principle of life, which might possibly be revived. He tried counter-poisons, and caused her to be sucked by psyllæ; but all these efforts were in vain, she was actually dead, and Octavius must resolve to see his triumph deprived of so great an ornament.

It is plain from this whole account, that no body could certainly know what means Cleopatra made use of to kill herself. It was suspected, that under the garments which were brought by the peasant, there was concealed an asp, which she caused to sting her arm. They fancied that they observed upon her arm, after her death, two very small, and almost imperceptible punctures; but with regard to the animal itself they saw nothing of it, only they imagined they could observe the marks of its flight upon the sand, opposite the windows of the apartment where Cleopatra died. All this, however, is very uncertain. Nevertheless Octavius continued firm in this opinion, because in his triumph he carried a picture, in which Cleopatra

A. R. 712.  
Ant. C.  
30.

was represented with an asp sticking to her arm. \* Her race mentions it positively as a fact, † Virgil likewise a manifest allusion to it, and the greatest part of other writers have been of the same opinion. He speaks of a bodkin with which Cleopatra had pricked herself, and by this means conveyed into her blood the subtle poison in which it had been steeped. By this last account of her death has obtained far more credit than the other. After all, as there was no witness of it that survived, people were reduced to simple conjectures about it, even at the time that happened.

Cleopatra died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years. During four years of which, partaking in Antony's good fortune, she saw all the princes and kings of the East submit to her power, too happy if they were allowed servilely to pay their court to her. Her foolish ambition made her not satisfied with all this grandeur, but she wanted to rule over the whole Roman empire, and seize the ‡ Capitol. The fruit of this audacious project so ill supported on her side, was the ruin both of Antony and of her. Haughtiness attended her even to her last moments. The most || disdainful woman that ever lived, she could not submit to adorn the triumph of her conqueror by her chains, and preferred death itself to that ignominy. According to the manner

\* Ausa & jacentem visere regiam  
Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas  
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum  
Corpore combiberet venenum.

HOR. Od. I. 37.

† Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina fistro:  
Necdum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues.

VIRG. ÆN. VIII. 696, 697.

‡ — — — — dum Capitolio  
Regina dementes ruinas  
Funus & Imperio parabat.

HOR. ibid.

|| Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens  
Privata deduci superbo  
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

HOR. ibid.



of the Pagans, this manner of acting was called A. R. 723  
Ant. C. 30. greatness of soul, and was admired in Cleopatra by her enemies, and even by Octavius himself.

As to us, if we would form a right judgment of this princess, we shall find her great only in her vices. It is needless to mention her dissolute manners, which are known to all the world. Ambition was the motive of all her actions, and she thought nothing a crime which tended to satisfy that passion. She made war upon her eldest brother, poisoned a second, and Arsinoe her sister was killed by her orders. The abuse which she made of Antony's confidence during so many years, and his prodigious indulgence towards her, is an atrocious piece of ingratitude which she crowned with the blackest perfidy, by betraying to an enemy the person whom she designed to love more than her life. And in order that she might partake of every kind of shame, she had the mortification to see the advances which she had made towards her conqueror rejected, and those efforts by which she tried to kindle in him a passion, in which, till that time, she had always triumphed, repulsed with contempt.

She was buried near Antony according to her desire, and Octavius even finished the tomb which they had begun to build themselves. He, besides, ordered an honourable burial for those women who had accompanied Cleopatra to her death.

In this princess ended the reign of the Lagides, which, to reckon from the death of Antony, had lasted two hundred and ninety-four years.

Antony, when he died, was according to some fifty-three years of age, and according to others fifty-six. He made a more shining figure than could well be expected from the merit of a man whose vices greatly surpassed his talents. With the capacity to acquire power, but incapable of preserving it, there never was any person who had greater need of adversity to make him be esteemed. All the vices which arise from good fortune, reigned in him at once, and

A. R. 732.  
Ant. C.  
30.

rendered useless to him his knowledge of war, which he excelled all the generals of his time. He was naturally good, humane, and liberal; but the principles of virtue, not being supported by a sound firm, and enlightened reason, sometimes eclipsed him so far, as to make him give way to the most odious cruelty, and sometimes even degenerated into weakness. Born to be governed by women, he was a flagrant instance of the insatiation, slavery, and other disasters, which foolish passions constantly occasion. In a word, he deserved that mankind should applaud his defeat; and it might justly be said to be the interest of the universe, that Antony should be overcome by Octavius.

Vell. II.  
86.

Plut. Cic.  
Plin. and  
Appian.  
Civil. I.  
IV. and  
Dio.

The statues which had been erected to him were thrown down after his death, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, which was passed when Cicero's son was elected, who was then Consul. A very singular circumstance, and which was remarked by all the world as a kind of consolation to the Manes of Cicero, whose son gave the last blow of infamy and vengeance to his enemy and murderer. For the same *Senatus-Consultum* ordered, that whatever had been decreed in favour of Antony should be abolished, that his birthday should be ranked among those called unfortunate, and that none of the family of Antony should ever after bear the name of Marcus. I must be leave, however, to observe by the way, that Octavius seems to have desired to wash off the reproach of ingratitude towards Cicero, by the regard which he shewed to his son. Young Cicero, after the battle of Philippi, retired at first to Sicily, to Sextus Pompeius. It is probable that he returned to Rome after the treaty of Misenum, and thus being in a situation of receiving Octavius's favours, he was first made Augur, and afterwards advanced to the Consulship, which he enjoyed from the 13th of September to the first of November, in the year I am now speaking of.

A. R. 722

Ant. C.

300

Plut. Ant.

The statues of Cleopatra would not have been spared more than those of Antony, if Archibius, her generous friend, had not preserved them from being destroyed, by giving a thousand talents (about two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling) for them to Octavius.

Antony left seven children by three different wives. He had by Fulvia Antyllus and Julius Antonius; by Octavia two daughters, both named Antonia; by Cleopatra two sons, Ptolemy and Alexander, and one daughter named Cleopatra after her mother.

We have already seen the melancholy fate of Antyllus: with regard to the rest, Octavia, who continued always faithful to the memory of an ungrateful spouse, took them home to her, to breed them up with her own children, and performed the office of a mother to them all. She made Julius Antonius her son-in-law, by giving him in marriage Marcella, whom she had by her first husband Marcellus. She married Cleopatra to Juba, the most amiable and married of kings, who having been educated at Rome, as I said elsewhere, and attached himself to Octavius, was re-established by him upon the throne of his father, and continued the posterity of Masinissa. History does not inform us what became of Ptolemy and Alexander, we only know that Octavius spared their lives. As for the two daughters which Octavia had by Antony, the eldest married Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the younger Antonia, so celebrated for her beauty and virtue, became the wife of Drusus and the mother of Germanicus. By means of these alliances, Antony's posterity arrived at the sovereign power in Rome. Three of his descendants were emperors, viz. Caligula the great grandson, Claudius his grandson, and Nero, who descended from him both by his father and mother. For Domitius his father was Antony's grandson, and Agrippina his mother was his great-grand-daughter.

Thus we see that Octavius supported the glory of his clemency, with which he had taken care after a



A. R. 722.  
Ant. C.  
30.

Vell. II.  
87. and  
Orof. VI.  
39.

certain time to adorn his victories and his splendid fortune. His humanity was not confined to Antony's family alone; for he pardoned the greatest part of the Romans who had followed that unfortunate chief, and history mentions no more than three of them who were punished with death.

The first of these was Cassius of Parma, one of Cæsar's murderers, and who on that account could not be spared by the son and avenger of that great man. He was exasperated at his treatment, and wrote some verses upon it; but Horace gives us no favourable idea of his talent in this way\*, representing him as one of those fruitful writers, who can produce whole volumes without any trouble, insomuch that it was said of him, that his own works were sufficient to form a funeral pile sufficient to consume his body after his death. He was the last of the conspirators who suffered, as Trebonius was the first.

Octavius also put to death Canidius, the commander of Antony's land-army at Actium, a violent enemy to him; and, on the other hand, far from being faithful to his general. We have seen him concerned in Cleopatra's plots to deceive Antony. Such a man does not deserve to be lamented, and he shewed even a cowardly disposition in his last moments, submitting to death with less courage than became an old warrior, who had been bred up to arms from his infancy.

The third Roman who suffered was one Ovinus, an effeminate worthless courtier of Cleopatra, who debased the senatorial dignity with which he was invested, by taking upon him the superintendence of the linen, moveables, and stuffs which were made for the queen of Egypt; an office which was looked upon as servile among the Romans.

— — — — — Etrusci  
Quali fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni  
Ingenium, capis quem fama est esse librisque  
Ambustum propriis.

HOR. SAT. I. 10.

We may justly suppose that, besides those three A. R. 712.  
Ant. C.  
30. whose deaths I have just mentioned, and who are the only persons taken notice of in the monuments which remain of those times, he pardoned all the rest. It must, however, be allowed that his clemency had not that magnanimous generosity which shone in his great uncle. His cunning and artful character discovers itself in a passage which Dio has preserved to us.

Octavius declared that he had burnt all the Dio l. LII. papers which he found belonging to Antony. His intention in this was to remove all fears from those who had any connection with the unfortunate party, and might be afraid of being called to an account for their past conduct. Pompey had behaved in the same manner with regard to Sertorius's papers, and Cæsar had imitated him after the victory which he gained over Metellus Scipio. Octavius wanted to have the honour of so glorious an action, and at the same time not to deprive himself of the advantage which Antony's papers would give him, with regard to those who should be obstinate in remaining his enemies. Thus while he affirmed that they were all burnt, he carefully preserved the greatest part of them, and made no sort of scruple to use them afterwards, whenever an opportunity presented itself.

His conduct was more sincere with regard to the Ibid l. LI. foreigners. He found assembled at Alexandria the children of the most part of the kings and princes, who were allies and dependents of Antony. There were both males and females among them, the first retained as hostages, and the others destined for Antony's pleasures, who made no scruple, in order to gratify his brutal passions, to dishonour the flower of the nobility of the East. The conqueror treated them all with great gentleness; some of them he sent back, others he married together, and a good many he detained; but without using them harshly. Dio mentions in particular Jotapa, who was to marry one of Antony's sons; and the brothers of Artaxias king of

A. R. 722.  
Ant. C.  
39.

Armenia. Jotapa was sent back to the king of the Medes her father, who some time before had bowed Octavius's friendship. But Artaxias could not obtain that his sons should be restored to him, because he had massacred the Romans, who remained in his country.

Egypt became, by the victory gained over Cleopatra, a conquered country, and a Roman province. Octavius making use of the right of a conqueror, carried away with him immense sums of money. The palace of the kings was filled with prodigious treasures, which Cleopatra had likewise augmented by her rapines, and especially by plundering the temples of every thing which was precious in them. The approach of those sacrileges fell upon Cleopatra, while Octavius enjoyed the profit of them. He made likewise the Alexandrians, and all the Egyptians, purchase the pardons which he granted them by the payment of large taxes. Thus the money which he took out of Egypt amounted to such a sum as enabled him to pay all he owed his soldiers, and besides, to give those who followed him in this last expedition, a gratuity of one hundred and fifty denarii \* a head, to make amends for the plunder of Alexandria, which he had deprived them of. He repaid all he had borrowed for supporting the war, and magnificently rewarded the Roman Senators and Knights who had served him. In short, Rome was enriched, and its temples adorned with the spoils of Egypt.

Nothing could better discover the immense quantity of money with which the conquest of Egypt enriched Rome, than the change in commerce which resulted from it. The funds doubled their value, and the interest of money was reduced to a third, falling from twelve to four *per cent.* It is true that we ought to attribute a part of that effect to the peace and tranquillity which was entirely established, the first-fruits of which they had already enjoyed.

\* About six pounds sterling.



A province so rich, and extremely fertile in corn, was a very considerable acquisition to the Roman empire. Alexandria became after this the nurse of Rome, supplying that capital of the universe with provisions for four months in the year. But to consider things in another light, this richness, and even this fertility, in a province so far distant from the centre of the government, might inspire with ambitious thoughts a governor who had the command of it, who might flatter himself the more easily of succeeding in fortifying himself, and making an independent establishment there, as the country was difficult of access both by sea and land, and that nation always sickle, superstitious to excess, and disposed to sedition and revolts, concealing a fire which was always ready to break out on the slightest occasion.

Alexander had formerly been struck with these apprehensions, and had taken precautions against that danger, by dividing the authority among several persons. Octavius took another method, which answered the same end. He put at the head of that province, not an honourable magistrate, but a simple Roman knight, with the title of Prefect, having under his command three legions, and some other bodies of troops less considerable, distributed in different parts of the country. The first whom he invested with this office was Gallus, a person of low condition, and who owed his whole fortune to him. Octavius even carried his precautions so far, as to forbid any Senator to set his foot in Egypt without his express permission.

In order to prevent the effect of the restless and seditionous spirit of the people, he would not allow them either Senate or publick council in Alexandria, tho' almost all the towns of the empire enjoyed this prerogative. And in general he did not establish in Egypt the form of government which the Romans introduced into their new conquests, and which had always something of the republican turn. Egypt was

Prefects

A. R. 922  
Anti. Q.  
30.  
Joseph. de  
B. Jud. III.  
16.

Tac. Hist.  
I. 21.

Arrian. I.  
III.

Dio.

Strabo. I.  
17.  
Suet. Aug.  
66.

D. 3.

Strabo.

A. R. 722. Prefects represented their ancient kings. These dis-  
 Ant. C. positions were settled and passed into a law, and a  
 30. maxim of state.  
 Tac. Ann.

II. 59. However Octavius, while he was taking measures  
 severe in appearance, in order to confirm to himself  
 the possession of his conquest, was no less attentive to  
 render the subjects happy; and he wanted that Egypt,  
 in return for the advantages it procured to the Ro-  
 man empire, should receive from its new masters  
 whatever it wanted to make it happy. The last kings  
 of Egypt had been a set of monsters. There was no-  
 thing to be found in them but cruelty, a tyrannical  
 disposition, and a contempt of laws and of manners.  
 Their smallest failing was negligence. Under such a  
 government Egypt, in spite of its fertility and other  
 advantages, had been very unhappy. Octavius re-  
 medied these evils by a wise policy, and a close at-  
 tention to the good of the country. Those canals  
 which came from the Nile, and were so necessary for  
 fertilizing the soil, and so commodious for the inte-  
 rior commerce of the country, were entirely spoiled,  
 and stopped up with heaps of mude. He made his  
 troops cleanse them, and cut out new ones. But  
 especially he encouraged the maritime commerce, for  
 which Alexandria had been built, and of which, by  
 its situation, it ought to have been the centre, if the  
 negligence and bad conduct of its kings had not hin-  
 dered it. Thus this great city was never in so flour-  
 ishing a condition as under the Roman empire. It  
 was then that it became truly the general magazine of  
 all nations, and the chain which connected the East  
 with the West. Thus Alexandria was raised to the  
 rank of the second city of the universe, which she  
 constantly afterwards enjoyed till the foundation of  
 Constantinople.

During the stay which Octavius made at Alexan-  
 dria, he visited the tomb of Alexander. He even  
 touched the body; and Dio has thought proper to  
 remark, that the end of the nose on which he laid his  
 hand, was reduced to dust under his fingers. The  
 testimonies

Strabo.

Dio.

testimonies of veneration which he shewed to the ashes A. R. 722.  
of that conqueror, the flowers which he strewed upon Ant. C.  
his monument, and the crown with which he adorned 30.  
him, are circumstances much more worthy to be re- Suet. Aug. 18.  
membered. They wanted likewise to shew him the  
tombs of the Ptolemies; but he refused it, telling  
them that he was curious to see a king, and not dead  
bodies. He likewise excused himself from visiting  
Apis, according to their desire, by an expression Dio.  
more solid and judicious than the former. "I am  
accustomed," said he, "to honour the Gods, and  
not an ox."

Towards the end of the fine season he left Egypt,  
crossed Syria, and went into Asia, to pass the winter  
there. He applied himself to establish tranquillity and  
his own authority in those vast countries, which till  
that time had never submitted to his laws; and, to  
make them immediately sensible of the difference be-  
tween his government and that of Antony, he caused  
to be replaced in the temples the statues which his  
rival had taken away, to satisfy the avarice of Cleo-  
patra. A restitution which both religion, and the  
taste the Greeks had for arts, rendered extremely  
agreeable to these people.

He had then an opportunity of concerning himself Justin. 1.  
in the affairs of the Parthians, amongst whom troubles XLII. and  
and divisions were excited, which were owing to the Dio.  
pride and cruelty of Phraates. His success against  
Antony having puffed up his courage, he gave way  
to his natural ferocity with more boldness and less re-  
serve than ever, and spilt seas of blood. His sub-  
jects, drove to extremity, at last lost all patience,  
shook off the yoke, drove away Phraates, and set  
up Tiridates to reign in his place. The dethroned  
king had recourse to the Scythians, and with the troops  
which they lent him returned into his kingdom. Ti-  
ridates in the mean time endeavoured to maintain  
himself upon the throne: and thus the Parthians  
were engaged in a civil war at the same time with the  
Romans.

Both



As R. 712<sup>1</sup>

Ant. Cr.

30

Both Tiridates and Phraates courted Octavius's friendship, and demanded assistance from him; but he understood his own interest too well, not to be pleased to see the forces of a powerful empire, and the only rival to that of Rome, destroy each other by their intestine divisions; and he answered that his own affairs occupied him entirely. During the time he was in Egypt, the war between the Parthians was determined by the victory of Phraates and the expulsion of Tiridates, who retired into Syria with one of his enemy's sons, whom he had found means to take prisoner. Octavius was still solicited by the two princes. Tiridates pressed him to re-establish him upon the throne, promising afterwards to become his vassal; and Phraates, on the other hand, sent Ambassadors to him, demanding of him to deliver up Tiridates his rebellious slave, and to send back his son. But Octavius hearkened to neither of their demands, contenting himself with promising a sure refuge to Tiridates in Syria, and resolving to take with him Phraates's son, as an hostage, to Rome, whither he was preparing to return.

Vol. ii. 83.

There he would have been in very great danger, if the vigilance of Mæcenas had not prevented it. The son of Lepidus, a rash and impetuous young man, had formed a conspiracy to assassinate him at his arrival. He saw in him the destroyer of all his relations and supporters, and proposed to revenge by his death his father, whom he had spoiled of all his riches, his uncle Brutus, whom he reduced to kill himself, and last of all Antony, who had been his father-in-law, a recent victim of Octavius's ambition. We have no full account of this conspiracy; nor are we able to say who were the persons whom Lepidus engaged in the plot. All we know is, that their designs were very soon penetrated by Mæcenas. Upon the first suspicion of it, that minister observed every step that was taken, and let him proceed till he had sufficient proof against him, which the rashness of the young

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death;  
conspira

conspirator soon furnished him with. The criminal was seized, committed, and put to death. A. R. 703.  
Ant. C.  
30.

Servilia \* his wife desired to follow her beloved husband to his tomb, and carefully observed by her family, having no weapon about her, she choked herself, according to Velleius, by swallowing live coals. It has been alledged that the celebrated Portia, the wife of Brutus, suffered the same kind of death; but I have proved that very probably it was only a fable. With regard to Servilia, I have nothing to invalidate the testimony of Velleius.

The mother of the conspirator, Junia, sister of Brutus, was included in the criminal process against her son, and Mæcenus wanted to send her to Octavius to be judged by him, or at least he demanded that she would give sufficient security to appear whenever she should be called upon. Here again is a very remarkable instance of the fickleness and instability of human affairs. The Consul before whom that process was carried on, and who was absolutely to determine it, was one who had been proscribed, whom Appian calls Balbinus. Old Lepidus, formerly one of the three authors of the proscription, saw himself obliged to implore the protection of that Consul, having fallen into such discredit and neglect, that he could not find any person to become security for his wife. He frequently waited before Balbinus's door, without gaining access; and when he wanted to approach the tribunal, the lictors pushed him back. At last he forced himself in, and accosted Balbinus in the following manner. "The accusers themselves acknowledge my innocence, and do not reproach me as being an accomplice either with my wife, or with my son. As to you, it was not I who proscribed

\* Soon after the death of Cæsar, Antony, according to Dio's account, (Book XLIV. towards the end) had given in marriage to Lepidus one of his daughters, who is no where else mentioned in history. She must have been dead at the time I am now speaking of, for there is no mention made of her among the children which Antony left at his death; and besides, the wife of young Lepidus at the time of the conspiracy was called Servilia by Velleius.

"you,

A. R. 722. " you, and I see myself at present inferior to several  
 Ant. C. " whom I formerly did proscribe. Consider then the  
 30. " changes of fortune to which mankind is subject.  
 " Behold Lepidus, who presents himself a suppliant  
 " before you. Touched with such a spectacle, either  
 " accept me as security for my wife, or send me with  
 " her bound hand and foot to Cæsar." The Consul  
 relented at this speech of Lepidus, and he excused  
 Junia from the necessity of giving security.

Octavius spent in Asia the end of the year of his  
 fourth Consulship, and the winter following, when  
 he was Consul for the fifth time, together with Sex.  
 Apuleius.

A. R. 723.  
 Ant. C.  
 29.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS V.  
 SEX. APULEIUS.

Dio.

The Senate had not heard of the entire defeat and  
 death of Antony, to decree honours to his vanquisher.  
 Immediately after the battle of Actium, they pub-  
 lished an order for his triumphing over Cleopatra,  
 and to this honour, which might be called premature,  
 as the war was not yet finished, they added several  
 others. It was given out that they intended to erect  
 for him two triumphal arches, the one at Brundisium,  
 and the other in the Forum at Rome; that they  
 would consecrate in the temple erected in honour of  
 Julius Cæsar the prows of the vessels taken at Actium;  
 that they would celebrate games every five years in  
 honour of Octavius; that his birth-day, and that  
 on which the news of his victory arrived at Rome,  
 should be kept as festivals; that upon his return, the  
 Vestals, the Senators, and all the citizens, together  
 with their wives and children, should go out to re-  
 ceive him. With regard to the crowns and statues  
 which were decreed to him, Dio has judged it super-  
 fluous to give a list of them, and it would still be a  
 more useless task at this time of day, even supposing  
 the records we have of it to be exact.



The death of Antony, which crowned and confirmed Octavius's prosperity, became an occasion and motive of new homages being paid to his good fortune. They decreed him a new triumph on account of his conquest of Egypt; for they observed that decorum in the title of the triumphs, to make no mention neither of Antony, nor of the Romans who followed him. They likewise ordered that the day on which Alexandria was taken should be celebrated as a festival, and serve as an epocha for the Egyptians to date their year from.

A.R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
19.

All this, however, was only honorary. But they added to it something more substantial, by decreeing to Octavius for his whole life-time the tribunitial power, with a right still more extensive than that of the Tribunes, whose authority was confined within the walls of the city, whereas they allowed him to exercise his as far as a mile's distance from Rome. This power had been offered him some years before, as I have already observed, but he did not accept of it. He still persisted even at this time to refuse it, and it was not till after he had abdicated his eleventh consulship, that the Senate having offered it to him anew, he consented at last to receive it, in order that he might have a lasting title of authority and pre-eminence in Rome over all the magistrates. They acknowledged him in some measure the chief of the republick, by ordering that his name should be added to those of the Senate and people in the prayers and vows which the priests should offer up for the safety of the empire. In fine, on the first of January, the consul his colleague, and the whole Senate, swore to observe his decrees and orders; a duty paid only by subjects towards their sovereign. They granted him besides some particular rights, as that of augmenting as he pleased the number of the priests, a right which both he and his successors gloried in so much, that the number of those in Rome cloathed in different sacerdotal robes became excessive, and in the time of Dio

it

A. R. 713.  
Ant. C.  
29.

it would have been a difficult task to keep an exact register of them.

They were not content with bestowing upon him all the honours and grandeur a mortal could receive, but they even associated him with the Gods, ordering his name to be inserted with theirs, in the hymns which were sung at the most solemn festivals. It was likewise enjoined to offer him libations at all their feasts, whether publick or private, and Horace assures us that this custom was established and kept up. \* "Every citizen (says he to Augustus, in an ode which was published a great while after the time I am now speaking of) invites you as a tutelar God to his desert. He addresses you with humble prayers, pours out libations in honour of you, and renders you the same homage as to his household Gods. In the same manner as Greece deified Castor, and the great Hercules, out of gratitude."

Octavius received all those honours, both human and divine, with some others I have not mentioned, to avoid being tedious; at least he refused but very few of them. For example, he declared absolutely that he did not desire the whole number of citizens should go out to meet him at his entry into Rome. Further, not only those titles which had power annexed to them, but even those which could only be regarded as merely honorary, pleased him in several respects. His vanity was flattered by so many testimonies of veneration, and besides he knew that whatever heightens the majesty of the lawgiver in the eyes of the people, disposes them more to obey him.

To this principle ought to be attributed his willingness to receive divine honours especially, and his zeal of having them bestowed on his adoptive father.

\* Quisque — — — alteris

Te mensis adhibet deum.

Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero

Defuso pateris, & Laribus tuum

Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris,

Et magni memor Herculis.

HOR. Od. IV. 5.

He

He had caused a temple to be erected to him in Rome, and he consented, at the time I am now speaking of, that the people of Asia should build one to him at Ephesus, and the Bithynians at Nice, to pay honours to him in the same manner as they did at Rome; and he ordered the Romans established in those provinces, to worship in these temples together with the natives of the country. Though Julius could reap no advantage from those homages; yet they reflected in some measure upon his son who represented him.

A. R. 723.  
Ant. C.  
29.

It was not, however, sufficient for Octavius to be the son of a God, but he wanted to pass for one himself. However, he was more reserved with regard to Rome, where he never suffered them to consecrate any place for his worship, though he allowed it in the provinces. Asia and Bithynia first set the example; Suet. Aug. at the same time that they built those temples I<sup>52</sup>.

As we mentioned in honour of Julius Cæsar, they directed others to Octavius in the towns of Pergamus and Nicomedia. They likewise associated with him, by his order, the city of Rome, which in some measure softened the odium of those sacrilegious honours.

As no contagion is so infectious as that of flattery, presently all the provinces followed the example set them by the Asians and Bithynians. Throughout the whole empire there was nothing but temples, so-

Philo ad  
Caium.

mn games, and sacerdotal colleges, erected in honour of the master of the universe; and these temples were commonly more beautiful and ornamented than those of the ancient divinities, whom a modern and visible God eclipsed. The Alexandrians in particular built a magnificent temple to him, to which were added portico's, libraries, courts, sacred groves, arches and walks, where they honoured him under the title of "Cæsar the protector and patron of Sailors." This flattery was still carried to greater excess with regard to his successors, most part of whom served a scaffold more than an altar. In the mean while Italy and Rome were favoured, and Dio as-



A. R. 723.  
Ant. C.  
29.

assures us that till his time there was no temple erected to any emperor while alive, at least by persons worth to be mentioned. After their death every body acquainted with the ceremony of the Apotheosis, consequence of which they had all divine honours paid them.

Tit. Liv.  
XLIII. 6.  
Suet. Aug.  
52.

Further it is proper to observe, that that impious custom of giving and receiving worship reserved for God alone was of a long standing among the Romans; for a great while before this time the provinces of the empire had erected temples to the city of Rome as a Goddess, and frequently the same honours had been paid to simple pro-consuls. Octavius therefore was not more culpable than those who preceded him; in joining him with others I do not pretend to diminish his crime. I should rather chuse to point out, how even that part of mankind which was then the most enlightened suffered itself to be corrupted by the voice of the tempter, who said to our first parents, “shall be like Gods.”

I have reserved till now the two decrees of the senate which flattered Octavius most, because they were of a very singular nature, and even the satisfaction we had in them does honour to him.

The first ordered the temple of Janus to be shut up, as a token of universal peace. The Romans were much delighted with this; for the disturbances raised by the Trevii in Gaul, and the Cantabri in Spain, did not deserve the name of a war. Every body knows that since the foundation of Rome, the temple of Janus had never been shut but twice; first in the reign of Numa, and again after the first Punic war. It was this which rendered the honour that was so rare of having shut \* “the gates of war” as Virgil calls them, more precious in the eyes of Octavius. He was sensible that the glory of being

\* — — Diræ ferro & compagibus arctis  
Claudentur belli portæ

VIRG. ÆN. I. 29. vid. & VII. 607.

restorer of peace to the universe far excelled the splendor of the greatest conquests; and he deserved to be congratulated on this sentiment.

The object of the second decree nearly resembled the other; for he likewise renewed, after a long interval, a pacific ceremony which they called the "Augur of Safety," and which Dio explains nearly in these terms. This is a kind of Divination, says that Historian, by which the Romans pretend to inform themselves whether the divinity judges it proper for them to demand the safety and happiness of the nation; not thinking it lawful even to demand it unless they have authority for it from heaven. The first magistrate in Rome consults the auspices with this intent, and the day on which he performs this religious office, must be a day of entire peace, on which there is neither any body of troops setting out for war, nor an enemy's army in the field, nor any military preparations a going on, nor apprehensions of a battle. This ceremony, which ought to have been repeated every year, had been performed for the last time thirty-four years before, in the consulship of Cicero, when Pompey had happily terminated the war against Mithridates. Since that time, on account of the foreign and civil wars, they had never been able to find a day when it was possible for them to perform the "Augur of Safety." We now see the reason why Octavius was charmed at having an opportunity to renew it; for it declared him the Saviour of the republic, and his encomium was likewise bestowed on him by an inscription dated in his fifth consulship.

Octavius after a stay of several months in Asia, went into Greece, and from thence to Italy, entering Rome in a triumphant manner. He had three triumphs at that time to celebrate. The first was over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, Iapydæ, and other neigh-

\* SENATUS-POPULUSQUE. ROMANUS. IMP. CÆSARI. DIVI. AULI. F. COS. QUINCT. COS. DESIG. SEXT. IMP. SEPT. REPUB. LIBERTATI. CONSERVATA. Signori. Comm. in Fastos.

A. R. 723.  
Ant. C.  
29.

bouring nations, to which were joined in the title the triumph the Morini, a people of Gaul, and the Suevii, of Germany, whom Carrinas his lieutenant had reduced to obedience. The second triumph was for the victory at Actium, and the third for the conquest of Egypt.

We have no very accurate description of these triumphs; but there is no doubt of their pomp being magnificent, seeing the whole known world contributed to embellish them. Together with the spoils of the vanquished, they carried crowns and other gifts which their allies were accustomed to offer on such occasions, as a tribute of acknowledgment and congratulation. These were followed by the triumphal chariot of Octavius, whose victory was greatly exalted by his youth; for he then only entered into his five and thirtieth year. The state horses were mounted, that on the right by Marcellus, nephew of Octavius, and designed by him for his successor, in case he should have no heirs of his own, and that on the left by Tiberius, the son of Livia, who was at that time about fourteen years old. After the chariot marched the Consul Potitus, who was chosen in the place of Apuleius; all the magistrates with the ornaments of their dignity, and all the senators who had followed Octavius in the wars, and contributed to his victory, clothed in robes embroidered with purple. The army distributed into legions and cohorts, closed the procession. Those officers and soldiers who had received military rewards (of whom there was a great number) carried the signals of their bravery, the glory of which reflected upon their general. Agrippa, whether he took his place among the senators, or at the head of the army, shone above all the rest by his sea-green standard, which Octavius had given him as a proof and monument of the share he had in the victory at Actium. I mention nothing of the infinite number of people which had gathered together to behold the triumph.

Suet. Tib.  
6.



Of all the triumphs the last, in which the spoils of Egypt were displayed, was by far the richest. Cleopatra was intended to have been the principal ornament of it, and in order to supply her person, Octavius caused them to carry a picture of her, which represented her lying on a bed, having an asp or two fixed to her arm. The children of that queen, Alexander and Cleopatra, were there led captives. Their brother Ptolemy had probably died after the taking of Alexandria. The chariot was doubtless preceded by several other prisoners, or hostages of different courts of the East; but of those we have no particular account, and we know no other of that number but Alexander the brother of Jamblichus, whom I have mentioned elsewhere, and Adjatorix and his children, whose fortune had something extremely affecting and interesting in it.

Adjatorix was descended from the Tetrarch of Gallo-Grecia, and Antony had made him prince of the city of Heracleum and of Pontus. Part of that town was then inhabited by a Roman colony, and Adjatorix taking advantage of the troubles the Romans were in, attacked, during the night, those who composed that colony, under pretence of an order from Antony, and put them all to the sword. Octavius thought he ought not to leave this crime unpunished, and after having led Adjatorix, his wife and children in triumph, he condemned him to die, together with the eldest of his sons. There were three of them in all, and when they were conducted to the place of execution, the second, out of an admirable generosity, maintained that he was the eldest, and therefore the sentence of death respected him. He who was truly the eldest, and was called Dyteutus, would not yield a point of generosity to his brother, but claimed his right of birth, the privilege of which was a bloody death. The contest between them was pretty long, and the two brothers renewed the dispute so much celebrated between Pylades and Orestes. At last, however,

Strabo I.

XII.

A. R. 722.

Ant. C.

29.

ever, their relations having represented to Dyteutus that as he was the eldest, he could the better support his mother and the youngest of his brothers, he yielded, and the second was beheaded in his stead. This surprizing adventure made a great noise, and Octavius on being informed of it was sorry for the rigour he had exercised on that family. He was desirous to repair it as much as possible, and he gave to Dyteutus the priesthood of Bellona at Comanus in Pontus, a considerable establishment, and of which he has had occasion to speak more than once.

The triumphs of Octavius were seen with great pleasure by the Romans, and the whole nation took part in them with a sincere joy. All men of sense observed a great difference between Octavius and Antony; and since they must have a master, they judged that fortune had used them very favourably by giving them the ablest and wisest of the two. The common people were gained by his attention to indulge them, and by the greatness of his munificence.

I have already observed that he re-imburfed them all the money they had advanced to him, and remitted all that was due of the last taxes. He also excused the towns of Italy from furnishing crowns which they used to bestow on triumphers, or any thing instead of them. Not content with those proofs of justice and moderation, he added to them immense distributions of money. He gave four hundred sesterces a head to the lower class of citizens. And after bestowing this gift in his own name, to all who were above the age of seventeen or eighteen years, he extended it to the children, under the name of Marcellus. The soldiers, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, received of him a thousand sesterces a head. In short, upon sending them to the colonies, he distributed large sums, in order to recompence those in the towns and countries where they were established, granting the same indulgence not only to Italy, but also to the provinces, which had never been done before.

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# OCTAVIUS V. APULEIUS, Consuls.

311

Such liberalities as these were a powerful allure-  
ment; and that happy tranquillity which they saw re-  
stored after so many troubles and misfortunes, disposed  
them to love the author of the publick felicity, and to  
prefer his yoke to a tumultuous liberty, the source  
of ambitious projects for the great, and of calamities  
for the people.

A.R. 723.  
Ant. C.  
29.

Macrob.  
Sat. l. I.  
c. 12.

Octavius celebrated these three triumphs in the  
month of August, three days successively. After-  
wards Carrinas and Autronius Pætus triumphed, the  
one over the Morini and the Suevii, and the other  
over Africa. Autronius's exploits must not have been  
very inconsiderable, seeing Octavius, whose lieute-  
nant he was, did not comprehend him at all in his  
triumph. As to those of Carrinas, they had adorned  
the triumph of his general before they procured the  
same honour to himself. Dio observes that his father  
had been proscribed by Sylla, and that consequently  
the son was excluded from all offices and honours by  
the laws of the same dictator. He nevertheless ob-  
tained every thing which the ambition of a Roman  
could desire, viz. the consulship and a triumph.  
A new example of the inconstancy of fortune in her  
changes for the better, as sometimes they are for the  
worse.

The whole month of August was spent in feasts and  
rejoicings. Octavius after his triumphs dedicated a  
temple to Minerva, and another in honour of Julius  
Cæsar, likewise a grand building designed for the as-  
semblies of the senate, which he called the "Palace  
of Julius." In this palace he consecrated a statue  
of Victory, which still remained in the time of Dio;  
and his intention, according to that historian, was to  
certify by that monument, that he obtained his right  
of supreme command by victory and arms. He  
adorned the two temples just now mentioned, and  
likewise several others, with precious ornaments car-  
ried out of Egypt. Thus he placed in the temple of  
Venus a golden statue of Cleopatra, and likewise em-  
bellished



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bellished that Goddess with those magnificent pendants which I have mentioned elsewhere. But the greatest part of the riches which were the fruits of his victory he placed in the Capitol. He even caused a decree to be passed in the senate, if we may believe Dio, to take out of it as prophane and polluted (but I cannot imagine in what respect) all the treasure which had formerly been amassed there, in order that the place might be left free for the new offerings which he there consecrated. I do not think we can refer to a more suitable occasion than this, the prodigious gift mentioned by Suetonius of sixteen thousand pound weight of gold, and to the value of one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces in jewels offered at once by Octavius to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Suet. Aug.  
898438 l.  
sterling.

In order to solemnize the dedication of the temple of Julius Cæsar, he gave to the people games and shews of all kinds, horse and chariot races in the circus; combats of gladiators, in which a senator, whom Dio calls Q. Vintelius, was fool-hardy enough to lose his honour and hazard his life; chaces of wild beasts brought from foreign countries, among which a rhinoceros and a sea-horse are particularly mentioned, and last of all combats between troops of Suevii and Dacii, the former made prisoners by Carrinas, and the latter taken at Actium among the auxiliary troops of Antony.

Suet. Tib.  
6.

To all these different kinds of shews, Octavius added one which he was particularly fond of; it was that called The Trojan Game, so well described by Virgil, in the fifth book of his *Æneid*, and which consisted of horse-courses, performed by the children of the prime nobility. They divided themselves into different squadrons according to their age, and at the games I now speak of, Tiberius commanded the squadron of the first rank. Octavius was pleased with this exercise, as Cæsar had been before, because he encouraged the opinion of the ancient nobility of

the Julii ascending as high as Æneas. Besides, he thought it proper in every respect for the young nobility to begin in this manner to make themselves known, and draw upon them the regard of the citizens.

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The joy of these feasts, which lasted several days, was a little disturbed, but not interrupted, by Octavius's indisposition, his state of health being very delicate. He desired that the shews might be continued, though he was not able to be present at them, and he gave a commission to others to preside in his stead.

During all the time of the games the senators having distributed themselves in a proper manner, kept open tables by turns, in the porches of their houses; and they invited every one that passed to come and eat with them, in the same manner as was practised on other occasions of public rejoicings.

Tit. Liv.  
III. 29.  
& XXV. 12.

Octavius did not content himself with these temporary feasts. He wanted to transmit to posterity lasting monuments of a victory which rendered him master of the world, and these he erected at Actium and in Egypt.

Upon the promontory of Actium there was a temple of Apollo, which he enlarged and embellished. They had celebrated there time out of mind games every three years in honour of that God. He encreased the splendor and pomp of these games, but he prolonged the interval between them, and ordered, very probably to avoid their being abused, the common consequence of too frequent repetitions, that they should be celebrated only once in five years. These are known in history under the name of the Actian games. Besides, he enclosed with walls the camp which he there occupied, and formed it into a town which he called Nicopolis, the City of Victory. In order to people it, he transported thither the inhabitants of Ambracia, and of some other neighbouring towns, which had suffered so greatly by the wars between the

Frein-  
them.  
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the Macedonians and the Romans in this country, that they were rendered almost desolate. He granted to the Nicopolitans excellent privileges, and among others that of sharing in the council of the Amphictyons, an ancient and respectable tribunal, where all Greece was represented by twelve deputies of the principal states. This town became afterwards very flourishing, and at the time when Strabo wrote was improving every day. That spot of ground where Octavius's tent had been pitched was distinguished from the rest of the town, being surrounded with walls of free-stone, adorned with prows of vessels taken in the engagement, and consecrated by a statue of Apollo, which was placed in the open air without any covering. Octavius even immortalized an ass and his leader, because they had afforded a happy presage to him. The morning he went out of his camp to fight Antony, having met a man who was leading an ass, he asked him his name, and the name of his beast. "My name, says he, is Eutychus, which signifies Happy, and my ass's name is Nikon, which signifies Conqueror." Whether this adventure was purely accidental, or artfully contrived by Octavius to encourage his soldiers, he thought proper to preserve the memory of it, and erected in Nicopolis two statues representing the ass and his master.

Such were the monuments, and in a manner the trophies with which Octavius took pleasure to adorn that place which had been the witness of the decisive action of his fortune. In Egypt where he had finished his victory, but without any danger, he built a second Nicopolis, upon the ground where he fought against Antony before Alexandria, and there instituted games like those at Actium.

In this manner Octavius congratulated himself in the view of the whole world, on being arrived at the height of his wishes. The methods by which he attained them, have been considered by his cotemporaries in very different lights, and Tacitus has furnished



nished us with a double view of it, which seems entirely adapted to terminate the representation which I have attempted to give of it at some length.

He mentions the speeches which were made on Augustus the day of his funeral. \* Those who favoured his memory said, that a just sense of gratitude and regard for his adoptive father, together with the necessity of the republick at a time when the laws had lost their power, had forced him to engage in the civil war; and that if his conduct in it was sometimes blame-worthy, it was because it was not possible otherwise to raise forces proper for such an enterprize, nor to govern them by the rules of an exact virtue. That he found himself under a necessity of granting many things to Antony, and even to Lepidus, in order to have it in his power to be avenged of the murderers of his father. And that afterwards, one of his two colleagues having disgraced himself by his effeminacy and incapacity, and the other ruined himself by his debaucheries, he found that the government of one person was the only remedy for the misfortunes of his country, fatigued and worn out by discords which could not be reconciled,

But † others who were less disposed to judge well of Octavius, alledged on the contrary, that the desire

\* Hi pietate erga parentem, & necessitudine Reipublicæ, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quæ neque parati, neque haberi possent per bonos artes. Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic sociordia senuerit, ille per libidines pestum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium inventum, quàm ut ab uno regeretur.

† Dicebatur contra, pietatem erga parentem, & tempora Reipublicæ obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupiditate dominandi concitos per largitiones veteranos, paratum ab adolescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium. Mox ubi decreto patrum fasces & jus prætoris invaserit, cæsis Hirtio & Pansa . . . utriusque copias occupavisse. Extortum invito Senatu Consulatum: armaque quæ in Antonium acceperit contra Rempublicam versa. Proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatus. Sanè Cassii & Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitis datos: (quanquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere) sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae

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of revenging his father, and the disorders of the state, were only a pretext; that the ambition of governing was the true motive which induced him to shew his generosity to the veterans, to assemble an army without any character of publick authority, and corrupt the legions of Antony, who was then consul, and to feign esteem and respect for Pompey's party, in order to take advantage of the good will which it bore to that cause. That having usurped the fasces and the prætorian power by a decree of which the senate did not foresee the consequences, after the fatal death of Hirtius and Pansa, who had thrown out a great many aspersions against him, he had taken possession of the troops of both. That he had taken possession of the consulship contrary to the inclination of the senators, and immediately after turned against the republic those arms she had put into his hands to make war against Antony. That it was just to blame the proscriptions and the distributions of lands to the soldiers, seeing those who were the immediate authors of them never dared to justify them. That they could very well forgive him the death of Cassius, and the two Brutus's, as due to the vengeance of his father; (although after all it would have been more generous to have sacrificed his particular enmities to the good of the public) but that he had imposed upon Sextus Pompeius by a false shew of peace, and on Lepidus by an external appearance of friendship. That his conduct had been the same with regard to Antony, whom he had deceived by the treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium, and by the marriage of his sister; and who at last suffered death by this fraudulent alliance.

These two opinions, so opposite to each other, nevertheless contain something true in each of them.

deceptos. Post Antonium Tarentino Brundisinoque fœdere & nuptiis sororis inlectum subdolæ adfinitatis pœnas morte exsolvisse. Tac. Ann. l. 9 & 10.

The

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The last expresses naturally Octavius's intentions, and the other shews the advantages he procured to the empire. And it is evident from facts, that the monarchical government was at that time the only resource of the Roman republic.

Thus I have represented as faithfully as I could the circumstances and causes of this great revolution; but it becomes Christians to raise their thoughts still higher, and to trace in the different turns of human affairs, and the sport of the passions, the divine Providence which governs them, and directs them to the execution of his designs of mercy towards mankind. Christ, who had been expected four thousand years, was now soon to be born, and every thing was ordered to facilitate the propagation of that heavenly doctrine which he brought with him.

The vast extent of the Roman empire, in connecting together, by a free and constant commerce, all the parts of the then known world, opened all the ways for the preachers of the Gospel; to which the terrible calamities of the civil wars would have been a very great obstacle. The "Prince of peace" must then be born in the bosom of peace; and thus God raised up Octavius to put an end to all dissensions, and establish a lasting tranquillity in the empire. Even the establishment of monarchy in the Roman empire entered into the designs of God, with regard to his church. Societies are attached to their particular maxims, and we see that the senate of Rome continued still Pagan a great while after Christianity was mounted on the throne. The religion of Christ would have suffered an implacable and eternal war on the part of the senate, provided the power had continued in its hands; and the conversion of Constantine alone gave peace to the Church for ever, after it had been harrassed and persecuted for the space of three ages.

It is with this reflection that I take leave of my readers upon finishing this work, which I have put the last hand to in obedience to the commands of a



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master, whose memory I shall always respect, because in him piety equalled his other talents. Happy, in following his footsteps, I regard all I can gather from Pagan antiquity, as the riches of Egypt, which ought to be consecrated to God and Jesus Christ. Happier still, if by the same Spirit directing my pen, I shall be able to inspire the like sentiments in those who do me the honour of becoming my readers.



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Virginitas: Idea of it among the heathens, i. 66.

Virginus, Tribune, summons Cæso before the people for opposing the lex Terentilla, i. 345.

Virginius, father of Virginia, kills her with his own hand, to save her from the brutality of Appius, i. 401. He goes to the camp, and lays his complaints before the soldiers, who retire first to mount Aventine, and afterwards to the Sacred Mountain, 409. Elected Tribune, 416. He accuses Appius, 417.

Viriathus escapes a general massacre of the Lusitanians, murdered by the detestable perfidy of Galba, and from a shepherd becomes an heroic warrior, vi. 13. By various stratagems he defeats the Romans on several occasions, 14. Fabius Æmilianus marches against him, 16, and gains several advantages, 18. Viriathus engages several people of Spain to take arms, *ibid.* His character and praises, 20. After having defeated the Consul Fabius, he retires into Lusitania, 21. Peace concluded between him and the Romans, 25. He escapes the pursuit of Cæpio by stratagem, 26. He in vain demands a peace, *ibid.* Cæpio causes him to be murdered treacherously, 28. How much he was lamented. His obsequies, his merit, 29.

Viridomarus, King of the Gauls, killed by Marcellus, who thereby obtains the Spolia Opima, iii. 291, 293.

Visceratio: What it was, ii. 369.

Voconius Saxa (Q.) proposes and passes a celebrated law against the women, with regard to inheritances, v. 313.

Voconius Barba, Lieutenant of Lucullus. His negligence, vii. 262.

Volcæ, a people of Gaul, iii. 343.

Volcatius Tullus (L.) Consul, vii. 387. He complains of Pompey, and proposes to send Deputies to Cæsar, ix. 28. He goes to the Senate with Cæsar, 52.

Volero, (Publius) Tribune of the people, passes a law contrary to the authority of the Senate, i. 311.

Volsi, make war with the Romans, i. 146, 220. They are vanquished, and severely punished, 221. Coriolanus goes over to them, and engages them to declare war against the Romans, 274. They take advantage of the hatred of the soldiers for Appius their general, and defeat them, 318. They are defeated by Geganius, and obliged to pass under the yoke, ii. 41. Bloody battle,



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- battle, 69. They are vanquished by Cossus the Dictator, 187.  
 They are defeated by Camillus, 211.  
 Volscius, by a false evidence, causes Cæso to be condemned to banishment, i. 347. He is banished himself, 369.  
 Volscinians, oppressed by their slaves, implore the assistance of the Romans, iii. 114.  
 Volumnius (L.) Consul, defeats the Salentines, ii. 442. Consul for the second time, 459. On receiving a letter from Appius his colleague he passes into Hetruria with his army. He is ill received by Appius. His moderation. His troops oblige him to stay there, 462. He gains a victory with his colleague, 464. He returns into Samnium, defeats the Samnites, and takes from them the plunder they had got in Campania, 465. He causes Fabius to be named Consul, and expresses himself with a great deal of wisdom, iii. 2.  
 Volumnius (P.) receives Atticus, who was proscribed, ix. 512.  
 Volumnius, a buffoon, killed in the camp of Brutus, x. 37.  
 Volusenus (C.) is sent by Cæsar to reconnoitre the coast of Great-Britain, viii. 302. His perfidy with regard to Comius, 452. He is deceived, and afterwards wounded by the same Comius, 457.  
 Vows: Delicacy of the Romans with regard to vows, ii. 132. Reflections on that subject, iii. 396.  
 Usipii, a German nation, pass the Rhine, viii. 292. See Germany and Cæsar.  
 Usury: What the Romans thought of it, ii. 306. Usurers condemned to a fine, iii. 6. Driven out of Sardinia by Cato, iv. 517. Regulations on that Subject, v. 48. A Prætor assassinated in the Forum by the faction of the rich usurers, vi. 424.  
 Utica, a colony of Tyre, iii. 118. Scipio besieges it, and is obliged to suspend the operations, iv. 395. It is given to the Romans, v. 521. Importance of that place. Juba desires Cato to demolish it, but he opposes him, and repairs the city, ix. 232. Cæsar marches against that city, 257. (See Cato and Cæsar.)  
 Uxellodunum, a city of Gaul besieged by the lieutenants of Cæsar, viii. 453, who goes thither in person, and obliges the besieged to surrender at discretion, His severity to them, 454.

## W.

- WAR:** Ceremonies observed by the Romans in their declarations of war, i. 67. Form of the declaration, 97. Rewards given by the Romans in war, 375. Methods which they made use of to excite emulation, v. 361. Punic wars. See Carthaginians. Social war. See Allies. Civil wars. See Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey.  
 Ways, (grand) magnificence of the Romans in that respect, ii. 269.  
 Wills: Manner of making them in the army, i. 247. Falcidian law on the subject of Wills, x. 104.  
 Women: Their laws and privileges, i. 26. How punished in case

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case of infidelity, 27. They are forbid drinking of wine, *ibid.* They were always under the power of their fathers, their brothers, or husbands, v. 36, 45. Law, which excludes them from inheritance, 313. Preference given to Rome by the Latine women, and to Latium by the Roman, i. 211. Women of the Ambrones, their courage, vi. 310. Courage and ferocity of those of the Cimbri, 320. See Ladies.

### X.

**X**Anthia, capital of Lycia, besieged by Brutus. Rage of the Xanthians, x. 9.

Xantippus, the Lacedemonian, assists the Carthaginians with troops, and revives their courage, iii. 182. He beats Regulus, and takes him prisoner, 183. He retires, 186.

Xenophon, chief of the embassy of Philip to Hannibal. Stratagem which he makes use of, in order to escape out of the hands of the Romans, iii. 539. He is taken with the other Embassadors and sent to Rome, 543, where they arrive with the Embassadors of Hannibal, who were also arrested, 548.

Xerxes, son of Mithridates, led in triumph by Pompey, viii. 36.

### Y.

**Y**Oke: In what consisted the ceremony of passing under it, i. 86. The Romans pass under it at Caudium, iii. 397. (See Caudium.) The Volsci pass under it, ii. 41, and the Samnites, 405, and the Romans, vi. 228, 295.

### Z.

**Z**Ama, a city in Numidia, near which was fought the famous battle between Scipio and Hannibal, iv. 449. It is besieged by Metellus, vi. 238. It refuses to receive Juba, and shuts its gates against him, ix. 278.

Zarbienus, King of the Gordyenians, is put to death by Tigranes, vii. 296. Lucullus celebrates his obsequies, and erects a monument to him, *ibid.*

Zenobius, by order of Mithridates, treats in a cruel manner the island of Chio, vii. 54. He is arrested and put to death by the Ephesians, 56.

Zeno (statue of) is the only part which Cato reserved to himself, when he took the treasures of Ptolemy, King of Cyprus, viii. 123.

Ziela, or Zela, a city, famous in the Roman History for the defeat of Triarius, vii. 308.

Zozima, wife of Tigranes, led in triumph by Pompey, viii. 36.

END X.

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1. The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in urban areas. This is a result of the process of urbanization, which has been going on since the beginning of the 20th century. The process of urbanization is the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. This is done for a variety of reasons, including the search for better living conditions, the desire for education, and the need for employment. The process of urbanization has led to the growth of large cities and the decline of small towns. This has had a significant impact on the way we live and work. The majority of the population now lives in cities, which are often characterized by high levels of population density, pollution, and crime. This has led to a number of problems, including the loss of rural life, the loss of community, and the loss of the environment. The process of urbanization is a complex one, and it is one that we need to understand if we are to solve the problems that it has created.



# A REGISTER OF THE CONSULS.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*I Have thought proper to insert here a register of the Consuls from the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium. The Latin authors, especially those who wrote of the time of the Republic, almost always mark the year of their history by the names of the Consuls of that year, which renders this register very useful for pointing out any text contained in the history. This register includes not only the Consuls, but also the Kings who preceded them. And after the establishment of the Consulship, the other magistrates which have from time to time interrupted its succession, and consequently given their names to the year; that is to say, the Decemviri, and the Military Tribunes invested with consular authority.*

### ROME founded,

*The Year of the World 3253. Before Christ, 751.*

A. R. 1 Romulus King.  
Ant.C. 751 He reigned 37 years.  
A. R. 38 Interregnum.  
Ant.C. 714  
A. R. 39 Numa second King.  
Ant.C. 713 He reigned 43 years.  
A. R. 82 Tullus Hostilius third  
Ant.C. 670 King.  
He reigned 32 years.  
A. R. 114 Ancus Marcius fourth  
Ant.C. 638 King.  
He reigned 24 years.  
A. R. 138 Tarquinius Priscus  
Ant.C. 614 fifth King.  
He reigned 38 years.  
A. R. 176 Servius Tullius sixth  
Ant.C. 576 King.  
He reigned 44 years.

A. R. 220 Tarquin the Proud.  
Ant.C. 532 seventh King.  
He reigned 35 years.

### CONSULS.

A. R. 245 L. Junius Brutus. He  
Ant.C. 507 was killed, and in  
his room was ap-  
pointed  
Sp. Lucretius Trici-  
pitinus. He died,  
and in his room  
was substituted,  
M. Horatius Pulvil-  
lus.  
L. Tarquinius Col-  
latinus. He was  
obliged

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

obliged to abdicate, and in his room was substituted,

P. Valerius, who obtained the surname of Publicola.

A. R. 246 P. Valerius Publicola II.

T. Lucretius.

A. R. 247 P. Lucretius, or according to Dionysius Halicarn.

M. Horatius Pulvillus II.

P. Valerius Publicola III.

A. R. 248 Sp. Lartius.

Ant. C. 504 T. Herminius.

A. R. 249 M. Valerius.

Ant. C. 503 P. Posthumius.

A. R. 250 P. Valerius Publicola IV.

T. Lucretius II.

A. R. 251 Agrippa Menenius.

Ant. C. 501 P. Posthumius II.

A. R. 252 Opiter Virginus.

Ant. C. 500 Sp. Cassius.

A. R. 253 Posthumius Cominius.

T. Lartius.

A. R. 254 Ser. Sulpicius.

Ant. C. 498 Man. Tullius.

A. R. 255 P. Veturius Geminus.

T. Æbutius Elva.

A. R. 256 T. Lartius II.

Ant. C. 496 L. Cloelius.

First Dictator T. LARTIUS.

A. R. 257 A Sempronius Atratinus.

M. Minucius.

A. R. 258 A. Posthumius.

Ant. C. 494 T. Virginus.

Battle of the Lake of Regillæ.

A. R. 259 Ap. Claudius.

Ant. C. 493 P. Servilius.

A. R. 260. A. Virginus.

Ant. C. 492 T. Vestilius.

A. R. 261 Posthumius Cominius II.

Ant. C. 491

Sp. Cassius II.

Establishment of the Tribunes of the People.

A. R. 262 T. Geganius.

Ant. C. 490 P. Minucius.

A. R. 263 M. Minucius II.

Ant. C. 489 A Sempronius II.

A. R. 264 Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Ant. C. 488 Sp. Lartius Flavus II.

A. R. 265 C. Julius.

Ant. C. 487 P. Pinarius.

A. R. 266 Sp. Nautius.

Ant. C. 486 Sex. Furius.

A. R. 267 T. Sicinius.

Ant. C. 485 C. Aquillius.

A. R. 268 Sp. Cassius III.

Ant. C. 484 Proculus Virginus.

A. R. 269 Ser. Cornelius.

Ant. C. 483 Q. Fabius.

A. R. 270 L. Æmilius.

Ant. C. 482 Cæso Fabius.

A. R. 271 M. Fabius.

Ant. C. 481 L. Valerius.

A. R. 272 Q. Fabius M.

Ant. C. 480 C. Julius.

A. R. 273 Cæso Fabius II.

Ant. C. 479 Sp. Furius.

A. R. 274 M. Fabius II.

Ant. C. 478 Cn. Manlius.

A. R. 275 Cæso Fabius III.

Ant. C. 477 T. Virginus.

A. R. 276 L. Æmilius II.

Ant. C. 476 C. Servilius.

A. R. 277 C. Horatius.

Ant. C. 475 T. Menenius.

Defeat of the Fabii near Cremera.

A. R. 278 Sp. Servilius.

Ant. C. 474 A. Virginus.

A. R. 279 C. Nautius.

Ant. C. 473 P. Valerius.

L. Fu-

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 280. B. Furius.  
 Ant. C. 472 A. Manlius.  
 A. R. 281. L. Æmilius III.  
 Ant. C. 471 Opiter Virginius,  
 or, according to  
 other Authors  
 Vopiscus Julius.  
 A. R. 282. L. Pinarius  
 Ant. C. 470 P. Furius.  
 A. R. 283. Ap. Claudius.  
 Ant. C. 469 T. Quintius Capi-  
 tolinus.  
 A. R. 284. L. Valerius II.  
 Ant. C. 468 Ti. Æmilius.  
 A. R. 285. T. Numicius Prif-  
 cus  
 A. R. 286. T. Quintius Capi-  
 tolinus II.  
 Ant. C. 466 Q. Servilius.  
 A. R. 287. Ti. Æmilius II.  
 Ant. C. 465 Q. Fabius.  
 A. R. 288. Q. Servilius II.  
 Ant. C. 464 Sp. Posthumius.  
 A. R. 289. Q. Fabius II.  
 Ant. C. 463 T. Quintius Capi-  
 tolinus III.  
 A. R. 290. A. Posthumius.  
 Ant. C. 462 Sp. Furius.  
 A. R. 291. L. Æbutius.  
 Ant. C. 461 P. Servilius.  
 A. R. 292. L. Lucretius Tri-  
 cipitinus.  
 Ant. C. 460 T. Veturius Gemi-  
 nus.  
 A. R. 293. P. Volumnius.  
 Ant. C. 459 Ser. Sulpicius.  
 A. R. 294. C. Claudius.  
 Ant. C. 458 P. Valerius II. He  
 was killed, and  
 in his room was  
 substituted  
 L. Quintius Cin-  
 cinnatus.  
 A. R. 295. Q. Fabius III.  
 Ant. C. 457 L. Cornelius.  
 A. R. 296. L. Minucius.  
 Ant. C. 456 C. Nautius II.  
 A. R. 297. Q. Minucius.  
 Ant. C. 455 C. Horatius.

A. R. 298. M. Valerius.  
 Ant. C. 454 Sp. Virginius.  
 A. R. 299. T. Romilius.  
 Ant. C. 453 C. Veturius.  
 A. R. 300. Sp. Tarpeius.  
 Ant. C. 452 A. Aterius.  
 A. R. 301. P. Curiatius.  
 Ant. C. 451 Sex. Quimilius.  
 A. R. 302. C. Menenius.  
 Ant. C. 450 P. Sestius Capitoli-  
 nus.

## DECEMVIRI.

A. R. 303. Ap. Claudius.  
 Ant. C. 449 P. Sestius Capitoli-  
 nus,  
 Ser. Sulpicius,  
 T. Romilius,  
 L. Valerius,  
 T. Genutius,  
 Sp. Posthumius,  
 A. Manlius,  
 C. Julius,  
 P. Horatius.  
 A. R. 304. Ap. Claudius II.  
 Ant. C. 448 M. Cornelius Ma-  
 luginensis,  
 L. Minucius,  
 Man. Rabuleius,  
 Cæso Duilius,  
 Q. Fabius Vibula-  
 nus,  
 M. Servilius,  
 T. Antonius.  
 Q. Poetilius,  
 Sp. Oppius Cor-  
 nicen.

A. R. 305. The same Decem-  
 viri continued.

The Consulship restored.

A. R. 306. L. Valerius Potitus,  
 Ant. C. 446 M. Horatius Barba-  
 tus.  
 A. R. 307. Lar. Herminius,  
 Ant. C. 445 T. Virginius.  
 A. R. 308. M. Geganius Ma-  
 cerinus,  
 C. Ju-



# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 309 C. Julius.  
Ant. C. 443 T. Quintius Capi-  
tolinus IV,  
Agrippa Furius:  
A. R. 310 M. Genucius,  
Ant. C. 442 C. Curtius.

## First Military Tribunes with the Consular Power.

A. R. 311 A. Sempronius,  
Ant. C. 441 T. Cloelius,  
L. Attilius.

These abdicated,  
and in their room  
were substituted  
the Consuls,

L. Papirius Mugi-  
lanus,  
L. Sempronius A-  
tratinus.

A. R. 312 \* M. Geganus Ma-  
Ant. C. 440 cerinus II.  
T. Quintius Capi-  
tolinus V.

## Establishment of the Censorship.

A. R. 313 M. Fabius Vibula-  
Ant. C. 439 nus,  
Posthumus Æbuti-  
us Cornicen.

A. R. 314 C. Furius Pacilus,  
Ant. C. 438 M. Papirius Craf-  
sus.

A. R. 315 Proculus Geganus  
Ant. C. 437 Macerinus,  
L. Menenius Lana-  
tus.

A. R. 316 T. Quintius Capi-  
Ant. C. 436 tolinus VI.  
Agrippa Menenius  
Lanatus.

A. R. 317 Mamercus Æmi-  
Ant. C. 435 lius,  
L. Julius,

A. R. 318 L. Quintius Ciri-  
Ant. C. 434 cinnatus.

A. R. 318 M. Geganus Ma-  
Ant. C. 434 cerinus III,

A. R. 319 L. Sergius Fidenas,  
Ant. C. 433 M. Cornelius Ma-

A. R. 319 M. Cornelius Ma-  
Ant. C. 433 luginensis,  
L. Papirius Crassus.

A. R. 320 C. Julius II,  
Ant. C. 432 L. Virginius.

A. R. 321 C. Julius III.  
Ant. C. 431 L. Virginius II.

A. R. 322 M. Fabius Vibula-  
Ant. C. 430 nus,

L. Sergius Fide-  
nas,  
M. Fofilius.

A. R. 323 L. Pinarius Mamercus,  
Ant. C. 429 Sp. Posthumius Al-

A. R. 323 L. Pinarius Mamercus,  
Ant. C. 429 bus,

L. Furius Medulli-  
nus.

A. R. 324 T. Quintius Pen-  
Ant. C. 428 nus Cincinnatus,

A. R. 325 C. Julius Mento.  
Ant. C. 427 L. Papirius Craf-

A. R. 325 L. Papirius Craf-  
Ant. C. 427 sus,

A. R. 326 L. Julius.  
Ant. C. 426 L. Sergius Fidenas

A. R. 326 L. Sergius Fidenas  
Ant. C. 426 II,  
Hostus Lucretius

A. R. 327 A Cornelius Cossus,  
Ant. C. 425 T. Quintius Pen-

A. R. 327 A Cornelius Cossus,  
Ant. C. 425 nus Cincinnatus

A. R. 328 C. Servilius Ahala,  
Ant. C. 424 L. Papirius Mugi-

A. R. 328 C. Servilius Ahala,  
Ant. C. 424 lanus.

A. R. 329 T. Quintius Pen-  
Ant. C. 423 nus,

A. R. 329 T. Quintius Pen-  
Ant. C. 423 M. Posthumius,  
C. Furius,  
A. Cornelius Cof-

\* During the succeeding years the Consuls and military Tribunes are intermixt; but they may easily be distinguished by the difference of the number, there being never above two Consuls, nor less than three Tribunes.

A. Sem-

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 330 Ant. C. 422	A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Furius Medullinus, L. Quintius Cincinnatus II, L. Horatius Barbatus.	A. R. 339 Ant. C. 413	Sp. Rutilius Crassus. A. Sempronius Atratinus III, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, M. Papirius Mugilanus II, Sp. Nautius Rutilus II.
A. R. 331 Ant. C. 421	Ap. Claudius Crassus, L. Sergius Fidenas, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, Sex. Julius Iulus.	A. R. 340 Ant. C. 412	P. Cornelius Cossus, Q. Quintius Cincinnatus, C. Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus.
A. R. 332 Ant. C. 420	C. Sempronius Atratinus, Q. Fabius Vibulanus.	A. R. 341 Ant. C. 411	Cn. Cornelius Cossus, Q. Fabius Vibulanus II, L. Valerius Potitus, M. Posthumius Regillensis.
A. R. 333 Ant. C. 419	L. Manlius Capitolinus, L. Papirius Mugilanus, Q. Antonius Merenda.	A. R. 342 Ant. C. 410	M. Cornelius Cossus, L. Furius Medullinus.
A. R. 334 Ant. C. 418	Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, L. Quintius Cincinnatus III, T. Quintius Capitolinus, L. Furius Medullinus.	A. R. 343 Ant. C. 409	Q. Fabius Ambustus, C. Furius Pacilus,
A. R. 335 Ant. C. 417	M. Manlius, A. Sempronius Atratinus.	A. R. 344 Ant. C. 408	M. Papirius Atratinus, C. Nautius Rutilus.
A. R. 336 Ant. C. 416	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Sp. Nautius, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus. C. Servilius.	A. R. 345 Ant. C. 407	Man. Æmilius Mamercinus, C. Valerius Potitus.
A. R. 337 Ant. C. 415	L. Sergius Fidenas, C. Servilius, M. Papirius Mugilanus.	A. R. 346 Ant. C. 406	Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Furius Medullinus II.
A. R. 338 Ant. C. 414	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus II, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus II, L. Servilius Structus,	A. R. 347 Ant. C. 405	C. Julius Iulus, C. Servilius Ahala, P. Cornelius Cossus.
		A. R. 348 Ant. C. 404	L. Furius Medullinus, Num. Fabius Vibullanus, C. Valerius Potitus II. C. Servilius Ahala II.

P. Cor-

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 349 P. Cornelius Cof-  
Ant. C. 403 fus,

Núm. Fabius Am-  
bustus,

Cn. Cornelius Cof-  
fus,

L. Valerius Potitus  
II.

A. R. 350 T. Quintius Capi-  
Ant. C. 402 tolinus,

C. Julius Iulus II.

L. Furius Medul-  
linus,

L. Quintius Cin-  
cinnatus,

A. Manlius,  
Man. Æmilius Ma-

mercinus.

A. R. 351 C. Valerius Potitus  
Ant. C. 401 III,

P. Cornelius Malu-  
ginensis,

Cæſo Fabius Am-  
bustus,

Man. Sergius Fide-  
nas,

Cn. Cornelius Cof-  
fus,

Sp. Nautius Rutilus  
III.

A. R. 352 Man. Æmilius Ma-  
Ant. C. 400 mercinus II,

Ap. Claudius Craf-  
ſus,

L. Julius Iulus,  
L. Valerius Potitus

III,  
M. Quintilius Va-

rus,  
M. Poſthumius.

A. R. 353 C. Servilius Ahala  
Ant. C. 399 III,

L. Virginius,  
A. Manlius II,

Q. Servilius,  
Q. Sulpicius,

Man. Sergius Fide-  
nas II.

A. R. 354 L. Valerius Potitus  
Ant. C. 398 IV,

Man. Æmilius Ma-  
mercinus III,

Cæſo Fabius Am-  
bustus II,

M. Furius Camil-  
lus,

Cn. Cornelius Cof-  
ſus II,

L. Julius Iulus,

First Plebeian military Tri-  
bunes.

A. R. 355 P. Lucinius Calvus,  
Ant. C. 397 L. Titinius,

L. Furius Medulli-  
nus,

P. Mænius,

P. Mælius,

S. Publilius Volſ-  
cus.

A. R. 356 M. Veturius,  
Ant. C. 396 C. Duilius,

Cn. Genucius,

M. Pomponius,

Volero Publilius,  
L. Atilius.

A. R. 357 L. Valerius Potitus  
Ant. C. 395 V,

M. Valerius Maxi-  
mus,

Q. Servilius Fidenas,  
M. Furius Camillus

II,  
L. Furius Medulli-

nus,  
Q. Sulpicius Came-

rinus II,

A. R. 358. L. Julius Iulus II,  
Ant. C. 394 L. Sergius Fidenas,

P. Cornelius Malu-  
ginensis II,

L. Furius Medulli-  
nus,

A. Poſthumius Re-  
gillensis.

A. Manlius III.

A. R. 359. P. Licinius Calvus,  
Ant. C. 393 P. Mænius II,

Cn. Genucius II.  
L. Ti-



# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

L. Titinius II,  
P. Mælius II,  
L. Atilius II.  
Siege of Veii.

A. R. 360. P. Cornelius Cossus,  
Ant. C. 392 M. Valerius Maxi-  
mus II,  
L. Furius Medulli-  
nus,  
P. Cornelius Scipio,  
Cæso Fabius Am-  
bustus III,  
Q. Servilius III.

A. R. 361 M. Furius Camillus  
Ant. C. 391 III,  
C. Æmilius,  
Sp. Posthumius,  
L. Furius Medulli-  
nus,  
L. Varius Publicola,  
P. Cornelius Scipio  
II.

A. R. 362 L. Lucretius Flavius,  
Ant. C. 390 Ser. Sulpicius Ca-  
merinus.

A. R. 363 L. Valerius Potitus,  
Ant. C. 389 M. Manlius.

A. R. 364 L. Lucretius,  
Ant. C. 388 M. Æmilius,  
Agrippa Furius,  
Ser. Sulpicius,  
L. Furius Medulli-  
nus,  
C. Æmilius II.

A. R. 365 The three Fabii,  
Ant. C. 387 Q. Servilius IV,  
Q. Sulpicius Lon-  
gus,  
Ser. Cornelius Ma-  
luginensis.

Battle of Allia, followed by the  
siege of Rome.

A. R. 366 Valerius Publicola  
Ant. C. 386 II.  
P. Cornelius,  
L. Æmilius,  
L. Virginus,

VOL. X.

A. R. 367 A. Manlius,  
Ant. C. 385 L. Posthumius.  
T. Quintius Cin-  
cinnatus,  
L. Julius Iulus,  
L. Lucretius Tricia-  
pirinus,  
Q. Servilius Fide-  
nas V,  
L. Aquilius Corvus,  
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

A. R. 368 L. Papirius Cursor,  
Ant. C. 384 C. Sergius,  
L. Menenius,  
C. Cornelius,  
L. Æmilius II,  
L. Valerius Publi-  
cola III.

A. R. 369 M. Furius Camil-  
Ant. C. 383 lus IV.  
Q. Servilius Fide-  
nas VI,  
L. Horatius Pulvil-  
lus,  
Ser. Cornelius Ma-  
luginensis II,  
L. Quintius Cin-  
cinnatus,  
P. Valerius Potitus.

A. R. 370 A. Manlius II,  
Ant. C. 382 T. Quintius Capi-  
tolinus,  
L. Papirius Cursor  
II,  
P. Cornelius,  
L. Quintius Capi-  
tolinus,  
C. Sergius II.

A. R. 371 Ser. Cornelius Ma-  
Ant. C. 381 luginensis III,  
M. Furius Camillus  
V,  
C. Papirius Crassus,  
P. Valerius Potitus  
II.  
Ser. Sulpicius Ru-  
fus II,  
T. Quintius Cin-  
cinnatus II.

A. R. 372 L. Valerius Publi-  
Ant. C. 380 cola IV,  
M m Ser.

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

Ser. Sulpicius Rufus  
III,  
L. Æmilius III,  
A. Manlius III,  
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus II,  
M. Trebonius.  
A. R. 373 Sp. Papirius,  
Ant. C. 379 Ser. Cornelius Ma-  
luginensis IV,  
Ser. Sulpicius,  
L. Papirius,  
Q. Servilius,  
L. Æmilius IV.  
A. R. 374 M. Furius Camillus  
Ant. C. 378 VI,  
A. Posthumius Re-  
gillensis,  
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus III,  
L. Furius,  
L. Posthumius Re-  
gillensis,  
M. Fabius Ambuf-  
tus.  
A. R. 375 L. Valerius Publi-  
Ant. C. 377 cola V,  
C. Sergius III,  
Sp. Papirius Curfor,  
P. Valerius Potitus  
III,  
L. Menenius II,  
Ser. Cornelius Ma-  
luginensis V.  
A. R. 376 P. Manlius,  
Ant. C. 376 L. Julius,  
M. Albinus,  
C. Manlius,  
C. Sextilius,  
L. Antistius.  
A. R. 377 Sp. Furius,  
Ant. C. 375 C. Licinius,  
M. Horatius,  
Q. Servilius II,  
P. Clœlius,  
L. Leganius.  
A. R. 378 L. Æmilius V.  
Ant. C. 374 C. Veturius,  
L. Quintius Cincin-  
natus,

P. Valerius Potitus  
IV,  
Ser. Sulpicius II,  
C. Quintius Cin-  
cinnatus.  
A. R. 379 L. Papirius,  
Ant. C. 373 Ser. Sulpicius,  
L. Menenius,  
Ser. Cornelius.

Five years pass without Curule  
Magistrates.

A. R. 385 L. Furius,  
Ant. C. 367 Ser. Sulpicius III,  
P. Valerius Potitus  
V,

A. Manlius,  
Ser. Cornelius,  
C. Valerius.

A. R. 386 M. Fabius Ambuf-  
Ant. C. 366 tus II,

C. Veturius II,  
M. Cornelius,  
Q. Servilius III,  
A. Cornelius,  
Q. Quintius.

A. R. 387 T. Quintius,  
Ant. C. 365 Ser. Sulpicius IV,  
L. Papirius,  
Ser. Cornelius,  
Sp. Servilius,  
L. Veturius.

A. R. 388 A. Cornelius,  
Ant. C. 364 M. Geganius,  
L. Veturius II,  
M. Cornelius II,  
P. Manlius II,  
P. Valerius Potitus  
VI.

First Plebeian Consul.

Establishment of the Prætorship  
and of the Curule Ædileship.

A. R. 389 L. Emilius Mamer-  
Ant. C. 363 cinus,  
L. Sextius Latera-  
nus.

A. R. 390 L. Genucius,  
Ant. C. 362 Q. Servilius Ahala.  
C. Sul-

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 391 C. Sulpicius Pæti-  
Ant. C. 361 cus,  
C. Licinius Stolo.  
A. R. 392 Cn. Genucius,  
Ant. C. 360 L. Æmilius Mamer-  
cinus II.  
A. R. 393 Q. Servilius Ahala  
II,  
Ant. C. 359 L. Genucius II.  
A. R. 394 C. Sulpicius Pæti-  
Ant. C. 358 cus II,  
C. Licinius Stolo II.  
A. R. 395 C. Poetelius Balbus,  
Ant. C. 357 M. Fabius Ambuf-  
tus.  
A. R. 396 M. Popilius Lænas,  
Ant. C. 356 Cn. Manlius.  
A. R. 397 C. Fabius,  
Ant. C. 355 C. Plautius.  
A. R. 398 C. Martius Rutilus,  
Ant. C. 354 Cn. Manlius II.  
A. R. 399 M. Fabius Ambuf-  
Ant. C. 353 tus II,  
M. Popilius Lænas  
II.  
A. R. 400 C. Sulpicius Pæticus  
Ant. C. 352 III,  
M. Valerius Publi-  
cola.  
A. R. 401 M. Fabius Ambuf-  
Ant. C. 351 tus III,  
T. Quintius.  
A. R. 402 C. Sulpicius Pæti-  
Ant. C. 350 cus IV,  
M. Valerius Publi-  
cola II.  
A. R. 403 P. Valerius Publi-  
Ant. C. 349 cola,  
C. Marcus Rutilus  
II.  
A. R. 404 C. Sulpicius Pæti-  
Ant. C. 348 cus V,  
T. Quintius Pen-  
nus.  
A. R. 405 M. Popilius Lænas  
Ant. C. 347 III,  
L. Cornelius Scipio.  
A. R. 406 L. Furius Camil-  
Ant. C. 346 lus,  
Ap. Claudius Craf-  
sus.

A. R. 407 M. Valerius Corvus,  
Ant. C. 345 M. Popilius Lænas  
IV.  
A. R. 408 T. Manlius Tor-  
Ant. C. 344 quatus,  
C. Plautius.  
A. R. 409 M. Valerius Corvus  
Ant. C. 343 II,  
C. Poetelius.  
A. R. 410 M. Fabius Dorso,  
Ant. C. 342 Ser. Sulpicius Ca-  
merinus.  
A. R. 411 C. Marcus Rutilus  
Ant. C. 341 III,  
M. Manlius Tor-  
quatus II.

## War with the Samnites.

A. R. 412 M. Valerius Corvus  
Ant. C. 340 III,  
A. Cornelius Cossus.  
A. R. 413 C. Marcus Rutilus  
Ant. C. 339 IV,  
Q. Servilius.  
A. R. 414 C. Plautius II,  
Ant. C. 338 L. Æmilius Mamer-  
cinus.  
A. R. 415 T. Manlius Torqua-  
Ant. C. 337 tus,  
P. Decius Mus.  
A. R. 416 Ti. Æmilius Ma-  
Ant. C. 336 mercinus,  
Q. Publilius Philo.  
A. R. 417 L. Furius Camillus,  
Ant. C. 335 C. Mœnius.  
A. R. 418 C. Sulpicius Longus,  
Ant. C. 334 P. Ælius Pætus.  
A. R. 419 L. Papirius Crassus,  
Ant. C. 333 Cæso Duilius.  
A. R. 420 M. Valerius Corvus  
Ant. C. 332 IV,  
M. Atilius Regulus.  
A. R. 421 T. Veturius,  
Ant. C. 331 Sp. Posthumius.  
A. R. 422 A. Cornelius Cossus  
Ant. C. 330 II,  
Cn. Domitius.  
A. R. 423 M. Claudius Mar-  
Ant. C. 329 cellus,  
C. Valerius Potitus.  
L. Pa-



# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 424 L. Papirius Cursor,  
Ant. C. 328 C. Poetelius Libo.

A. R. 425 L. Papirius Crassus  
Ant. C. 327 II,

L. Plautius Venno.

A. R. 426 L. Æmilius Ma-  
Ant. C. 326 mercinus II,

C. Plautius.

A. R. 427 P. Plautius Proculus,  
Ant. C. 325 P. Cornelius Sca-  
pula.

A. R. 428 L. Cornelius Lentu-  
Ant. C. 324 lus,

Q. Publius Philo  
II.

A. R. 429 C. Poetelius Libo  
Ant. C. 323 II,

L. Papirius Mugila-  
nus.

A. R. 430 L. Furius Camillus  
Ant. C. 322 II,

D. Junius Brutus  
Scæva.

A. R. 431 C. Sulpicius Longus  
Ant. C. 321 II,

Q. Aulius Cerreta-  
nus.

A. R. 432 Q. Fabius,  
Ant. C. 320 L. Fulvius.

A. R. 433 T. Veturius Calvi-  
Ant. C. 319 nus II,

Sp. Posthumius Al-  
binus II.

## Disaster at Caudium.

A. R. 434 L. Papirius Cursor  
Ant. C. 318 II,

Q. Publius Philo  
III.

A. R. 435 L. Papirius Cursor  
Ant. C. 317 III.

Q. Aulius Cerreta-  
nus II.

A. R. 436 M. Fostius Flacci-  
Ant. C. 316 nator,

L. Plautius Venno.

A. R. 437 C. Junius Bubulcus,  
Ant. C. 315 Q. Æmilius Barbula.

A. R. 438 Sp. Nautius,  
Ant. C. 314 M. Popillius.

A. R. 439 L. Papirius Cursor  
Ant. C. 313 IV,

Q. Publius Philo  
IV.

A. R. 440 M. Poetilius,  
Ant. C. 312 C. Sulpicius Lon-  
gus III.

A. R. 441 L. Papirius Cursor  
Ant. C. 311 V,

C. Junius Bubulcus  
II.

A. R. 442 M. Valerius,  
Ant. C. 310 P. Decius Mus.

A. R. 443 C. Junius Bubulcus  
Ant. C. 309 III.

Q. Æmilius Barbula  
II.

A. R. 444 Q. Fabius II,  
Ant. C. 308 C. Marcius Rutilus.

A. R. 445 Q. Fabius III,  
Ant. C. 307 P. Decius Mus II.

A. R. 446 Ap. Claudius;  
Ant. C. 306 L. Volumnius.

A. R. 447 P. Cornelius Arvi-  
Ant. C. 305 na,

Q. Marcius Tremu-  
lus.

A. R. 448 L. Posthumius Me-  
Ant. C. 304 gellus,

Ti. Minucius.

A. R. 449 P. Sulpicius Saver-  
Ant. C. 303 rio,

P. Sempronius So-  
phus.

A. R. 450 L. Genucius,  
Ant. C. 302 Ser. Cornelius.

A. R. 451 M. Livius,  
Ant. C. 301 L. Æmilius.

A. R. 452 M. Valerius Corvus  
Ant. C. 300 V,

Q. Appuleius.

A. R. 453 M. Fulvius Pætinus,  
Ant. C. 299 T. Manlius Tor-  
quatus. He died of

a fall from a horse,  
and in his stead  
was substituted,  
M. Valerius Cor-  
vus VI.

A. R. 454 L. Cornelius Scipio,  
Ant. C. 298 Cn. Fulvius.

Q. Fabius

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 455 Q. Fabius Maximus  
Ant. C. 297 IV,

P. Decius Mus III.  
A. R. 456 L. Volumnius II,

Ant. C. 296 Ap. Claudius II.  
A. R. 457 Q. Fabius Maximus

Ant. C. 295 V,  
P. Decius Mus IV.

A. R. 458 L. Posthumius Me-  
Ant. C. 294 gellus II,

M. Atilius Regulus.  
A. R. 459 L. Papirius Cursor,

Ant. C. 293 Sp. Carvilius.  
A. R. 460 Q. Fabius Gurges,

Ant. C. 292 D. Junius Brutus  
Scaeva.

A. R. 461 L. Posthumius Me-  
Ant. C. 291 gellus III,

C. Junius Brutus.  
A. R. 462 P. Cornelius Rufi-

Ant. C. 290 nus,  
Man. Curius Denta-

tus.  
A. R. 463 M. Valerius Corvi-

Ant. C. 289 nus,  
Q. Cædicius Noctua.

A. R. 464 Q. Marcius Tremu-  
Ant. C. 288 lus,

P. Cornelius Arvina.  
A. R. 465 M. Claudius Mar-

Ant. C. 287 cellus,  
C. Nautius.

A. R. 466 M. Valerius Potitus,  
Ant. C. 286 C. Ælius Pætus.

A. R. 467 L. Claudius Canina,  
Ant. C. 285 M. Æmilius Lepi-

Ant. C. 284 dus.  
A. R. 468 C. Servilius Tucca,

Ant. C. 284 T. Cæcilius Metel-  
lus.

A. R. 469 P. Cornelius Dola-  
Ant. C. 283 bella,

Cn. Domitius Cal-  
vinus.

A. R. 470 Q. Æmilius Papus,  
Ant. C. 282 C. Fabricius Lufci-

Ant. C. 281 nus.  
A. R. 471 L. Æmilius Bar-

Ant. C. 281 bula,  
Q. Marcius Philip-

pus.

## War with Pyrrhus.

A. R. 472 P. Valerius Lævinus,  
Ant. C. 280 Ti. Coruncanius.

A. R. 473 P. Sulpicius Saverrio  
Ant. C. 279 P. Decius Mus.

A. R. 474 C. Fabricius Lufci-  
Ant. C. 278 nus II,

Q. Æmilius Papus.  
A. R. 475 P. Cornelius Rufi-

Ant. C. 277 nus II,  
C. Junius Brutus II.

A. R. 476 Q. Fabius Gurges II,  
Ant. C. 276 C. Genucius Clep-

fina.  
A. R. 477 Man. Curius Den-

Ant. C. 275 tatus II,  
L. Cornelius Lentu-

lus.  
A. R. 478 Man. Curius Denta-

Ant. C. 274 tus III,  
Ser. Cornelius Len-

tulus.  
A. R. 479 C. Fabius Dorso,

Ant. C. 273 C. Claudius Canina  
II.

A. R. 480 L. Papirius Cursor  
Ant. C. 272 II,

Sp. Carvilius II.  
A. R. 481 L. Genucius,

Ant. C. 271 C. Quintius.  
A. R. 482 C. Genucius,

Ant. C. 270 Cn. Cornelius.  
A. R. 483 C. Ogulnius Gallus,

Ant. C. 269 C. Fabius Picor.  
A. R. 484 P. Sempronius So-

Ant. C. 268 phus,  
Ap. Claudius Craf-

Ant. C. 267 sus.  
A. R. 485 M. Atilius Regulus,

Ant. C. 267 L. Julius Libo.  
A. R. 486 Num. Fabius,

Ant. C. 266 D. Junius.  
A. R. 487 Q. Fabius Gurges

Ant. C. 265 III,  
L. Mamilius Vitulus.

## First Punic war.

A. R. 488 Ap. Claudius Cau-  
Ant. C. 264 dex,

M. Fulvius Flaccus.  
M m 3 Man.

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 544 M. Claudius Marcellus V,  
Ant.C. 208

T. Quintius Crispinus.

A. R. 545 C. Claudius Nero,

Ant.C. 207 M. Livius II.

A. R. 546 L. Veturius,

Ant.C. 206 Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

A. R. 547 P. Cornelius Scipio,

Ant.C. 205 P. Licinius Crassus.

A. R. 548 M. Cornelius Cethe-

Ant.C. 204 gus,

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

A. R. 549 Cn. Servilius Cæpio,

Ant.C. 203 C. Servilius Geminus.

A. R. 550 M. Servilius,

Ant.C. 202 T. Claudius.

A. R. 551 Cn. Cornelius Lent-

Ant.C. 201 tulus,

P. Ælius Pætus.

## War against Philip.

A. R. 552 P. Sulpicius Galba

Ant.C. 200 II,

C. Aurelius Cotta.

A. R. 553 L. Cornelius Lentu-

Ant.C. 199 lus,

P. Villius Tapulus.

A. R. 554 Sex. Ælius Pætus,

Ant.C. 198 T. Quintius Flamin-

nius.

A. R. 555 C. Cornelius Cethe-

Ant.C. 197 gus,

Q. Minucius Rufus.

A. R. 556 L. Furius Purpureo,

Ant.C. 196 M. Claudius Mar-

cellus.

A. R. 557 L. Valerius Flaccus,

Ant.C. 195 M. Portius Cato.

A. R. 558 P. Cornelius Scipio

Ant.C. 194 Africanus II,

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

A. R. 559 L. Cornelius Meru-

Ant.C. 193 la,

Q. Minucius Thermus.

A. R. 560 L. Quintius Flami-

Ant.C. 192 ninus,

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

## War against Antiochus.

A. R. 561 P. Cornelius Scipio

Ant.C. 191 Nasica,

Man. Acilius Glabrio.

A. R. 562 L. Cornelius Scipio,

Ant.C. 190 C. Lælius.

A. R. 563 M. Fulvius Nobil-

Ant.C. 189 lior,

Cn. Manlius Vulso.

A. R. 564 M. Valerius Messal-

Ant.C. 188 la,

C. Livius Salinator.

A. R. 565 M. Æmilius Lepi-

Ant.C. 187 dus,

C. Flaminius.

A. R. 566 Sp. Posthumius Al-

Ant.C. 186 binus,

Q. Marcius Philippus.

A. R. 567 Ap. Claudius Pul-

Ant.C. 185 cher,

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

A. R. 568 P. Claudius Pulcher,

Ant.C. 184 L. Porcius Lucinus.

A. R. 569 M. Claudius Mar-

Ant.C. 183 cellus,

Q. Fabius Labeo.

A. R. 570 Cn. Bæbius Tam-

Ant.C. 182 philus,

L. Æmilius Paulus.

A. R. 571 P. Cornelius Cethe-

Ant.C. 181 gus,

M. Bæbius Tamphilus.

A. R. 572 A. Posthumius Albi-

Ant.C. 180 nus Lufcus,

C. Calphurnius Piso.

He died, and in his room was elected,

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Q. Fulvius



# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 573 Q. Fulvius Flaccus,  
Ant. C. 179 L. Manlius Acidinus.

These two Consuls were brothers.

A. R. 574 M. Junius Brutus,  
Ant. C. 178 A. Manlius Vulso.

A. R. 575 C. Claudius Pulcher,  
Ant. C. 177 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

A. R. 576 Cn. Cornelius Scipio  
Ant. C. 176 Hispalus. He died and in his room was elected,

C. Valerius Levinus.

Q. Petillius Spurius. He was killed in War against the Ligurians.

A. R. 577 P. Mucius Scaevola,  
Ant. C. 175 M. Æmilius Lepidus.

A. R. 578 Sp. Posthumius Albinus,  
Ant. C. 174

Q. Mucius Scaevola.

A. R. 579 L. Posthumius Albinus,  
Ant. C. 173

M. Popillius Lænas.

A. R. 580 C. Popillius Lænas,  
Ant. C. 172 P. Ælius Ligur.

War against Persia.

A. R. 581 P. Licinius Crassus,  
Ant. C. 171 C. Cassius Longinus.

A. R. 582 A. Hostilius Mancinus,  
Ant. C. 170

A. Atilius Serranus.

A. R. 583 Q. Marcius Philippus II,  
Ant. C. 169

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

A. R. 584 L. Æmilius Paulus  
Ant. C. 168 II,

L. Licinius Crassus.

A. R. 585 Q. Ælius Pætus,  
Ant. C. 167 M. Junius Pennus.

A. R. 586 C. Sulpicius Gallus,  
Ant. C. 166 M. Claudius Marcellus.

A. R. 587 T. Manlius Torquatus,  
Ant. C. 165 Cn. Octavius.

A. R. 588 A. Manlius Torquatus,  
Ant. C. 164

Q. Cassius Longinus.

A. R. 589 Ti. Sempronius  
Ant. C. 163 Gracchus II.

Man. Juvenius Thalna.

A. R. 590 P. Scipio Nasica,  
Ant. C. 162 C. Marcius Figulus.

These Consuls abdicated, and in their room were elected,

P. Cornelius Lentulus,

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

A. R. 591 M. Valerius Messalla,  
Ant. C. 161

C. Fannius Strabo.

A. R. 592 L. Anicius Gallus,  
Ant. C. 160 M. Cornelius Cethegus.

A. R. 593 Cn. Cornelius Dolabella,  
Ant. C. 159

M. Fulvius Nobilior.

A. R. 594 M. Æmilius Lepidus,  
Ant. C. 158

C. Popillius Lænas.

A. R. 595 Sex. Julius Cæsar,  
Ant. C. 157 L. Aurelius Orestes.

A. R. 596 L. Cornelius Lentulus,  
Ant. C. 156

C. Marcius Figulus II.

A. R. 597 P. Cornelius Scipio  
Ant. C. 155 Nasica II,

M. Claudius Marcellus II.

A. R. 598 Q. Opimius,  
Ant. C. 154 L. Posthumius Albinus.

A. R. 599 Q. Fulvius Nobilior,  
Ant. C. 153 T. Annius Luscus.

These Consuls entered on their charge the first of January, and their ex-

# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

- example passed afterwards into a rule.
- A. R. 600 M. Claudius Marcellus III,  
Ant.C. 152 L. Valerius Flaccus.
- A. R. 601 L. Licinius Lucullus,  
Ant.C. 151 A. Posthumius Albinus.
- A. R. 602 T. Quintius Flamininus,  
Ant.C. 150 Man. Acilius Balbus.
- The third Punic war.
- A. R. 603 L. Marcius Censorinus,  
Ant.C. 149 Man. Manlius.
- A. R. 604 Sp. Posthumius Albinus,  
Ant.C. 148 L. Calphurnius Piso.
- A. R. 605 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus,  
Ant.C. 147 C. Livius Drusus.
- A. R. 606 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus,  
Ant.C. 146 L. Mummius.
- A. R. 607 Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus,  
Ant.C. 145 L. Hostilius Mancinus.
- A. R. 608 Ser. Sulpicius Galba,  
Ant.C. 144 L. Aurelius Cotta.
- A. R. 609 Ap. Claudius Pulcher,  
Ant.C. 143 Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.
- A. R. 610 L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus,  
Ant.C. 142 Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.
- A. R. 611 Cn. Servilius Cæpio,  
Ant.C. 141 Q. Pompeius.
- A. R. 612 C. Lælius Sapiens,  
Ant.C. 140 Q. Servilius Cæpio.
- A. R. 613 Cn. Calphurn. Piso,  
Ant.C. 139 M. Popillius Lænas.
- A. R. 614 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica,  
Ant.C. 138 D. Junius Brutus.
- A. R. 615 M. Æmilius Lepidus,  
Ant.C. 137 C. Hostilius Mancinus.
- A. R. 616 P. Furius Philus,  
Ant.C. 136 Sex. Atilius Serranus.
- A. R. 617 Ser. Fulvius Flaccus,  
Ant.C. 135 C. Calphurnius Piso.
- A. R. 618 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus II,  
Ant.C. 134 C. Fulvius Flaccus.
- A. R. 619 P. Mucius Scævola,  
Ant.C. 133 L. Calphurnius Piso Frugi.
- Sedition of Ti. Gracchus.
- A. R. 620 P. Popillius Lænas,  
Ant.C. 132 P. Rupilius.
- A. R. 621 P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus,  
Ant.C. 131 L. Valerius Flaccus.
- A. R. 622 P. Perperna,  
Ant.C. 130 C. Claudius Pulcher.
- A. R. 623 C. Sempronius Tuditanus,  
Ant.C. 129 Man. Aquillius.
- A. R. 624 Cn. Octavius,  
Ant.C. 128 T. Annius Rufus.
- A. R. 625 L. Cassius Longinus,  
Ant.C. 127 L. Cornelius Cinna.
- A. R. 626 Man. Æmilius Lepidus,  
Ant.C. 126 L. Aurelius Orestes.
- A. R. 627 M. Plaut. Hypsæus,  
Ant.C. 125 M. Fulvius Flaccus.
- A. R. 628 C. Cassius Longinus,  
Ant.C. 124 C. Sextius Calvinus.
- A. R. 629 Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus,  
Ant.C. 123 T. Quintius Flamininus.
- A. R. 630 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,  
Ant.C. 122 C. Fannius.
- A. R. 631 Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus,  
Ant.C. 121 L. Opimius.
- A. R. 632 P. Manlius,  
Ant.C. 120 C. Papirius Carbo.
- L. Cæci-

## A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

- A. R. 633 L. Cæcilius Metel-  
Ant. C. 119 lus Calvus,  
L. Aurelius Cotta.  
A. R. 634 M. Porcius Cato,  
Ant. C. 118 Q. Marcus Rex.  
A. R. 635 L. Cæcilius Metel-  
Ant. C. 117 lus Dalmaticus,  
Q. Mucius Scævola.  
A. R. 636 C. Licinius Geta,  
Ant. C. 116 Q. Fabius Maximus  
Eburnus.  
A. R. 637 M. Æmilius Scaurus,  
Ant. C. 115 M. Cæcilius Metel-  
lus.  
A. R. 638 Man. Acilius Balbus,  
Ant. C. 114 C. Porcius Cato.  
A. R. 639 C. Cæcilius Metel-  
Ant. C. 113 lus Caprarius,  
Cn. Capius Carbo.  
A. R. 640 M. Livius Drusus,  
Ant. C. 112 L. Calpurnius Piso  
Cæsonius.

### War with Jugurtha.

- A. R. 641 P. Cornelius Scipio  
Ant. C. 111 Nasica,  
L. Calphurn. Bestia.  
A. R. 642 M. Minucius Rufus,  
Ant. C. 110 Sp. Posthumus Al-  
binus.  
A. R. 643 Q. Cæcilius Metel-  
Ant. C. 109 lus Numidicus,  
M. Junius Silanus.  
A. R. 644 Ser. Sulpicius Galba,  
Ant. C. 108 Q. Hortensius, was  
named Consul,  
and died. In his  
room was elected,  
M. Aurelius Scaurus.  
A. R. 645 L. Cassius Longinus,  
Ant. C. 107 C. Marius.  
A. R. 646 C. Atilius Serranus,  
Ant. C. 106 Q. Servilius Cæpio.  
A. R. 647 P. Rutilius Rufus,  
Ant. C. 105 Cn. Mallius.

Bloody defeat of the Romans by  
the Cimbri.

- A. R. 648 C. Marius II,  
Ant. C. 104 C. Flavius Fimbria.

- A. R. 649 C. Marius III,  
Ant. C. 103 L. Aurelius Orestes.  
A. R. 650 C. Marius IV,  
Ant. C. 102 Q. Lutatius Catulus.  
A. R. 651 C. Marius V,  
Ant. C. 101 Man. Aquilius.  
A. R. 652 C. Marius VI,  
Ant. C. 100 L. Valerius Flaccus.  
A. R. 653 M. Antonius,  
Ant. C. 99 A. Posthu. Albinus.  
A. R. 654 Q. Cæcilius Metel-  
Ant. C. 98 lus Nepos,  
T. Didius.  
A. R. 655 Cn. Cornelius Len-  
Ant. C. 97 tulus,  
P. Licinius Crassus.  
A. R. 656 Cn. Domitius Ahe-  
Ant. C. 96 nobarbus,  
C. Cassius Longinus.  
A. R. 657 L. Licinius Crassus,  
Ant. C. 95 Q. Mucius Scævola.  
A. R. 658 C. Coelius Caldus,  
Ant. C. 94 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.  
A. R. 659 C. Valerius Flaccus,  
Ant. C. 93 M. Herennius.  
A. R. 660 C. Claudius Pulcher,  
Ant. C. 92 M. Perperna.  
A. R. 661 L. Marcus Philip-  
Ant. C. 91 pus,  
Sex. Julius Cæsar.

### The Social War.

- A. R. 662 L. Julius Cæsar,  
Ant. C. 90 R. Rutilius Lupus.  
A. R. 663 Cn. Pompeius Stra-  
Ant. C. 89 bo,  
L. Portius Cato.  
A. R. 664 L. Cornelius Sylla,  
Ant. C. 88 Q. Pompeius Rufus.

Exploits of Sylla against Mithri-  
dates.

- A. R. 665 Cn. Octavius,  
Ant. C. 87 L. Cornelius Cinna.  
He is deposed, and  
in his room is e-  
lected,  
L. Cornelius Merula.  
C. Ma-



## A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

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| <p>A. R. 666 C. Marius. He dies,<br/>Ant. C. 86 and in his room is<br/>elected,<br/>L. Valerius Flaccus.<br/>L. Corn. Cinna II.</p> <p>A. R. 667 L. Corn. Cinna III,<br/>Ant. C. 85 Cn. Papirius Carbo.<br/>A. R. 668 L. Corn. Cinna IV,<br/>Ant. C. 84 Cn. Papirius Carbo<br/>II.</p> <p>A. R. 669 L. Cornelius Scipio,<br/>Ant. C. 83 C. Norbanus.<br/>A. R. 670 C. Marius,<br/>Ant. C. 82 Cn. Papirius Carbo<br/>III.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Sylla made Dictator.</p> <p>A. R. 671 M. Tullius Decula,<br/>Ant. C. 81 Cn. Cornelius Do-<br/>labella.</p> <p>A. R. 672 L. Cornelius Sylla<br/>Ant. C. 80 Fælix II,<br/>Q. Cæcilius Metel-<br/>lus Pius.</p> <p>A. R. 673 P. Servilius Vatia<br/>Ant. C. 79 Isauricus,<br/>Ap. Claud. Pulcher.</p> <p>A. R. 674 M. Æmilius Lepi-<br/>Ant. C. 78 dus,<br/>Q. Lutatius Catulus,</p> <p>A. R. 675 D. Junius Brutus,<br/>Ant. C. 77 Mam. Æmilius Le-<br/>pidus Livianus.</p> <p>A. R. 676 Cn. Octavius,<br/>Ant. C. 76 C. Scribonius Curio,<br/>A. R. 677 L. Octavius,<br/>Ant. C. 75 C. Aurelius Cotta.</p> <p>A. R. 678 L. Licinius Lucullus,<br/>Ant. C. 74 M. Aurelius Cotta.</p> <p>A. R. 679 M. Terentius Varro<br/>Ant. C. 73 Lucullus,<br/>C. Cassius Varus.</p> <p>A. R. 680 L. Gellius Poplicola,<br/>Ant. C. 72 Cn. Cornelius Len-<br/>tulus Clodianus.</p> <p>A. R. 681 C. Aufidius Orestes,<br/>Ant. C. 71 L. Cornelius Lentu-<br/>lus Sura.</p> | <p>A. R. 682 Cn. Pomp. Magnus,<br/>Ant. C. 70 M. Licinius Crassus.<br/>A. R. 683 Q. Hortensius,<br/>Ant. C. 69 Q. Cæcilius Metel-<br/>lus Creticus.</p> <p>A. R. 684 L. Cæcilius Metel-<br/>Ant. C. 68 lus,<br/>Q. Marcius Rex.</p> <p>A. R. 685 C. Calphurnius Piso,<br/>Ant. C. 67 Man. Acil. Glabrio.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Pompey conqueror of the Pirates.</p> <p>A. R. 686 M. Æmilius Lepi-<br/>Ant. C. 66 dus,<br/>L. Volcatius Tullus.</p> <p>A. R. 687 L. Aurelius Cotta,<br/>Ant. C. 65 L. Manl. Torquatus.</p> <p>A. R. 688 L. Julius Cæsar,<br/>Ant. C. 64 C. Marcius Figulus.</p> <p>A. R. 689 M. Tullius Cicero,<br/>Ant. C. 63 C. Antonius.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Death of Mithridates.</p> <p>A. R. 690 D. Junius Silanus,<br/>Ant. C. 62 L. Licinius Murena.</p> <p>A. R. 691 M. Pupius Piso,<br/>Ant. C. 61 M. Valerius Messal-<br/>la Niger.</p> <p>A. R. 692 L. Afranius,<br/>Ant. C. 60 Q. Metellus Celer.</p> <p>A. R. 693 C. Julius Cæsar,<br/>Ant. C. 59 M. Calphur. Bibu-<br/>lus.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">War with the Gauls.</p> <p>A. R. 694 L. Calphurnius Piso,<br/>Ant. C. 58 A. Gabinus.</p> <p>A. R. 695 Cn. Cornelius Len-<br/>Ant. C. 57 tulus Spinther,<br/>Q. Cæcilius Metel-<br/>lus Nepos.</p> <p>A. R. 696 Cn. Cornelius Len-<br/>Ant. C. 56 tulus Marcellinus,<br/>L. Marc. Philippus.</p> <p>A. R. 697 Cn. Pompeius Mag-<br/>Ant. C. 55 nus II,<br/>M. Licin. Crassus II,<br/>War</p> |
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# A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

War of Crassus against the Parthians.

- A. R. 698 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus,  
Ant. C. 54 Ap. Claud. Pulcher.  
A. R. 699 Cn. Domit. Calvinus,  
Ant. C. 53 M. Valerius Messala.  
A. R. 700 Cn. Pompeius Magnus III,  
Ant. C. 52 C. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.  
A. R. 701 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus,  
Ant. C. 51 M. Claud. Marcellus.  
A. R. 702 L. Æmilius Paulus,  
Ant. C. 50 C. Claud. Marcellus.

Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey.

- A. R. 703 C. Claud. Marcellus,  
Ant. C. 49 L. Cornel. Lentulus.  
A. R. 704 C. Julius Cæsar II,  
Ant. C. 48 P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

Cæsar Dictator.

- A. R. 705 Q. Fufius Calenus,  
Ant. C. 47 P. Vatinius.  
A. R. 706 C. Julius Cæsar III,  
Ant. C. 46 M. Æmilius Lepidus.  
A. R. 707 C. Julius Cæsar IV,  
Ant. C. 45 without a Colleague.  
A. R. 708 C. Julius Cæsar V.  
Ant. C. 44 He is killed, and his place supplied by  
P. Corn. Dolabella,  
M. Antonius.  
A. R. 709 A. Hirtius,  
Ant. C. 43 C. Vibius Pansa.  
These two Consuls are killed, and in their room are elected,  
C. Julius Cæsar Octavius,

Q. Pedius. Hedice, and in his room is elected,  
P. Ventidius.

Triumvirate of Lepidus, Antony and Octavius.

Proscription.

- A. R. 710 M. Æmi. Lepidus II,  
Ant. C. 42 L. Munatius Plancus.  
A. R. 711 L. Antonius,  
Ant. C. 41 P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.  
A. R. 712 Cn. Do. Calvinus II,  
Ant. C. 40 Asinius Pollio.  
A. R. 713 L. Marc. Censorinus,  
Ant. C. 39 C. Calvisius Sabinus.  
A. R. 714 Ap. Claud. Pulcher,  
Ant. C. 38 C. Norban. Flaccus.  
A. R. 715 M. Agrippa,  
Ant. C. 37 L. Canidius Gallus.  
A. R. 716 L. Gellius Poplicola,  
Ant. C. 36 M. Cocceius Nerva.  
A. R. 717 L. Cornificius,  
Ant. C. 35 Sex. Pompeius.  
A. R. 718 M. Antonius II,  
Ant. C. 34 L. Scribonius Libo.  
A. R. 719 C. Julius Cæsar Octavius II,  
Ant. C. 33 L. Volcatius Tullus.  
A. R. 720 L. Do. Ahenobarbus,  
Ant. C. 32 C. Sosius.  
A. R. 721 C. Julius Cæsar Octavius III,  
Ant. C. 31 M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus.

Battle of Actium.

- A. R. 722 C. Julius Cæsar Octavius IV.  
Ant. C. 30 M. Licinius Crassus.

Death of Antony.

- A. R. 723 C. Jul. Cæs. Octavius V,  
Ant. C. 29 Sex. Apuleius.  
Triumphs of Octavius.

F I N I S.

